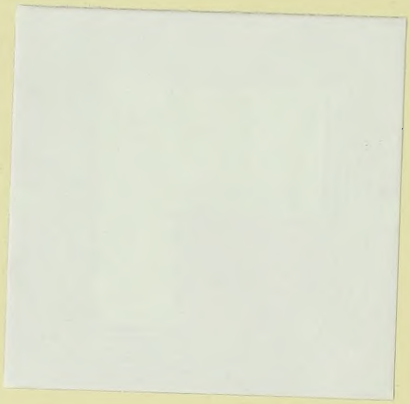

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire

Archæological Society

FOR 1891-92.

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N.B.—It is requested that Authors of Papers will be so good as to carefully read through their respective Papers, and communicate to the Editor any misprints, or other errors, in order that they be corrected in the Addenda or Corrigenda in the same volume or subsequent issues.—J.M.

Donations of Historical or Antiquarian Books, Tracts, Maps, Engravings, &c., are invited to the Society's Library at the Museum, Gloucester. Librarian—The Rev. Wm. Bazeley, M.A., Hon. Gen. Sec.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol & Gloucestershire

Archaeological Society

FOR 1891-92.

Edited by SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A., F.R.S.A., Irel.
President of the Royal Institution of Cornwall.

VOL. XVI.

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* The Society is indebted to the author for the drawings of these Plates.

† To Mr. George Clifford, of Blockley, for the rubbings of these Brasses.

‡ To Mr. Guy Dawber, A.R.I., B.A., for the drawing of these Plates.

‖ To Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., for the drawing of this Plate.

§ To Mr. F. Fisher Unwin, for the loan of these Blocks.

§ To Rev. W. Iago for drawing the block of the CHI-RHO symbol,

** To the Council of the Royal Archæological Institute for permission to reproduce this Drawing.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA, Vol. XVI.

Page 98, line 28, for "noboby" read *nobody.*

,, 100, ,, 7, for "Hardbidle" read *Harbridge.*

,, 20, for "wife" read *niece.*

,, 115, ,, 32, for "Thomas, sixth Lord Berkeley," read *Thomas, eighth Lord.*

,, 118, ,, 2, for "Thomas, sixth Lord" read *Thomas eighth Lord.*

,, 116, ,, 4, for "Maurice, seventh Lord Berkeley," read *9th Lord Berkeley.*

,, 126, ,, 13, for "16th Century" read *15th Century.*

Plate IV. Title, for "Malmesbury" read *Tréves.*

Plates XII & XIV., for "wife of Thomas III., 6th Lord," read *Thomas III. eighth Lord.*

Plate XVI. "Wife of Roger Ligon, Esq." It appears from Bigland's "Account of the Parish of Fairford," published in 1791, that this lady was Katherine, daughter of William Dennys, of Pucklechurch, and relict of Sir Edmund Tame and of Sir Walter Buckley, Knights (? Knighthood of the last). A good engraving of the altar tomb is inserted, on which the effigies of Roger Ligon and Katherine lie recumbent, he in armour. The side of the tomb is divided into two oblong panels, on the most western of which is a shield of arms thus blazoned :—1. *Ar. two lions passant gu.* for Lygon ; impaling :—*Quarterly, gu. a bend engrailed az. betw. three leopards' faces jessant de lys,* Dennys ; 2. *or, a raven pp. within a bordure gu. charged with bezants for* Corbet ; 3. *ar. on a chief gu. three Bezants,* for Russel ; 4. *Lozengy or and az. a chev. gules,* De Gorges.

The tomb appears to have been in good condition when engraved, but the side is now concealed by benches, etc. Apparently there was never an inscription.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society

IN 1891-92.

Proceedings at the Spring Meeting at Malmesbury, on Tuesday, May, 26th, 1891.

PART I.

The Annual Spring Meeting of the Society was held this day at Malmesbury, and, considering the stormy character of the weather, was well attended by members and visitors. Among those present were the Worshipful the Mayor of Malmesbury (Mr. Alderman Poole); Sir John Maclean, F.S.A., &c., and Mr. W. Leigh (*Vice-Presidents of the Society*), Major Davis; The Revs. G. Windsor Tucker (*Vicar of the Parish*), W. T. Allen, John Emeris, W. Symonds, D. L. Pitcairne, Pitt Eyken, J. M. Hall, S. E. Bartleet; Messrs. R. Taylor, W. Forester, C. E. Chapman, J. C. S. Jennings, E. S. Hartland A. E. D'Argent, E. P. Little, Stanley Marling, A. G. W. Jefferies, J. Platt, A. H. Paul (*Local Secretary, Tetbury*), C. J. Lowe, H. Medland, H. W. Bruton, J. C. Gash, J. W. Adams, G. Meadway, and many Ladies; also Rev. W. Bazeley (*Hon. Gen. Secretary*), who acted as guide throughout the day.

The arrangements were made by Mr. A. H. Paul, Local Secretary of the Society at Tetbury, who was kindly assisted by Mr. W. Forrester, Local Secretary at Malmesbury for the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, and were excellent.

It needs somewhat of an explanation why the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archæological Society held its Spring Meeting this year at Malmesbury. The Society is distinctly a County Society. It was founded specifically to explore and illustrate the history and antiquities of the County of Gloucester and collect materials for a future history of the County, a work which, notwithstanding the labours of Atkyns and Rudder, and Fosbroke, is greatly needed. Though Malmesbury, however, is not in the *County* of Gloucester, it, nevertheless, is not beyond the legitimate range of the Society's operations, for it is a portion of the Diocese of Bristol.

On arriving at Malmesbury Mr. Bazeley conducted the members and visitors to the ruins of the old Abbey Church, and, making a circuit of the venerable edifice, he pointed out, and commented on, the particular features to which he should treat later on in the day in a Paper he should read on the subject. This Paper will be printed *in extenso* in the present volume.

On Leaving the Abbey Church, the party, still under the guidance of the General Secretary, made a perambulation of the ancient town.

Traces of the walls which protected Malmesbury may be seen on every side of the town running parallel with the course of the two streams, the Avon, formerly the Bladon, and the Newnton Water, formerly the Yngelburn, which almost surround it.

The castle built by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury (1130-37) stood near the west end of the abbey, and commanded the narrow neck of land which gave access from the N.W. to the plateau on which the town stands.

A modern villa stands on the site of the West Gate ; the site of the North Gate is unknown. Beyond the tower on the N.W. lies the suburb of Westport, with its ancient chapel of S. Helen, its Guildhall, and its Horsefair.

From the site of the Castle the party proceeded by Gloucester Street to the ruins of St. Paul's Church, the tower of which still remains, and is used as a Campanile for the present parish church. From thence, by passing through the churchyard, the 15th century Market Cross, which is remarkable for its heavy lantern, was reached. Leland, who visited Malmesbury c. 1540, speaks of it as having been built "*in hominum memoria.*" It was restored at the commencement of the present century by the Earl of Suffolk and Lady Northwick. From thence the party went due west by the way which led down through a postern gate in the wall to Burni Vale ; and from the summit of the ancient wall the members looked down on the site of Chapel House and St. Maildulph's Hermitage. St. Maildulph was a Scotch monk and philosopher in the seventh century, who, desiring a more solitary life than a monastery afforded, made himself a cell under the ancient Roman walls of Caer-Bladon, near the junction of the Bladon and the Ingelbourn (now the Avon and the Newnton water). Here he preached the Christian faith to the Saxons with much success. Aldhelm, one of his converts, became a man of greater renown than his master, and, in process of time, on account of his holiness of life was venerated as a Saint. He was really the founder of the Abbey which was dedicated to SS. Mary and Aldhelm.

From the Postern Gate a pathway called "the King's Wall," (because running parallel with that ancient structure), passes an imposing house of about the date of the early part of the 18th century, having its parapet adorned with the arms of the town and of the first owner. At the extreme S. of the town, not far from the junction of the two streams, the thirteenth century archway of the Hospital of St. John stands between the site of the South Gate and St. John's Bridge, called in early writings Melebridge. This was a Lazar Hospital for men and women, and not, as has been surmised, a Priory of the Knight Hospitallers. Another Hospital stood on Burton Hill, where the road to Chippenham branches off to the south. This was the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene. Part of the buildings standing on the site of St. John's Hospital is used as almshouses, and another part as the court house of the old corporation, who now only exist for the purpose of managing the land, consisting of 700 acres, called King's Heath, granted to the men of Malmesbury by King Athelstan for their valour against the Danes. The municipal functions of the old corporation have recently been transferred to a Town Council, established under the Municipal Corporations' Acts. Here the Society was received by Mr. M. H. Chubb, the Deputy High Steward, (acting in behalf of Colonel Miles, the High Steward, absent through indisposition), who cordially welcomed the Society to the town.

Several members of the old corporation were present, and two pairs of interesting maces and some of the records of the corporation were here exhibited. A conversation respecting the Maces arose, in which Mr. Bazeley

and Major Davis took part, and it was thought that the two larger Maces were of the time of Queen Anne, and the smaller ones earlier. It was, however, suggested that they should be submitted to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, Assistant Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, who is a well-known expert in old Plate, and whose opinion would be accepted as conclusive. From St. John's Hospital the party proceeded by St. John Street to Silver Street (*query* meaning because found in so many old towns) and the Cross Hayes where the bull fight took place in the good old days, to the Council Chamber of the Town Council, where the party was formally received by the Mayor, who was accompanied by Mr. Alderman Forrester, the Town Clerk (Mr. M. H. Chubb), and other members of the Council. Here some interesting objects were exhibited by Mr. B. Hale, among them some cannon balls found in the gardens in the town, the result of the hostilities during the Civil War. Mr. F. A. Hyett, of Painswick House, then read the following Paper .—

Four Incidents of the Civil War.

Mr. F. A. Hyett, who was announced to read a short Paper on "The History of Malmesbury during the Civil War," said he did not propose to attempt a complete or consecutive history of the town during the time referred to, but he would call attention to the four most important events in Malmesbury during that eventful period. Within sixteen months Malmesbury twice voluntarily surrendered and was twice taken by storm. The first surrender was on Feb. 3rd, 1642-3, the first storming on March 20th, the second surrender between March 20th and April 5th, in the same year, and the second storming on May 24th, 1644. Both surrenders were by the Parliamentary party to the Royalists, and both of the captures were by the Parliamentary forces, under Sir W. Waller and Sir Edward Massey respectively. He did not think the town changed hands on any other occasion during that period, for though it was possible it might have done so, he had found no notice of it in contemporary histories. Mr. Ravenshill, in an interesting Paper in Vol. XXI. of the Wiltshire Archæological Magazine, says that the Royalists took possession of the town in the autumn of 1642, but he does not give his authority, and I think he is mistaken in his date, as the town was certainly in the hands of the Parliamentary party in the spring of 1643. Malmesbury, like Bristol, Gloucester, Cirencester, and other towns in this part of England, seemed at the outbreak of the war to have declared for the Parliament, but Prince Rupert having, on February 2nd, 1642-3, stormed and taken Cirencester, under circumstances calculated to spread terror far and wide, Malmesbury the next morning sent its submission to the King, and Lieut.-Colonel Lunsford was appointed Governor. That was the first surrender. The first taking was by Sir William Waller, who early in 1643 succeeded Lord Stamford as Governor of Gloucester, and determined to recover Malmesbury. A detailed account of it is given in a dispatch which was printed by order of Parliament on March 28th, 1643, entitled "A Letter from Sir William Waller to the Rt. Honble Robert Earl of Essex

of a Great Victory he obtained at Malmesbury 23 Martii in County of Wilts." In this letter Waller described the town as the strongest inland situation he had seen, and only fairly accessible at one point, the West port (where Euclid Villa now stands). On March 22nd, 1642-3, Waller appeared before the town, and after a determined attack Colonel Lunsford and his garrison surrendered on the following morning. The Parliamentary party did not long enjoy the fruits of Waller's victory, for before many days were over Sir Edward Hungerford, to whom Malmesbury was entrusted, surrendered it, as Waller evidently thought, without very good cause. From this second surrender on a summons from the Royal troops it might be inferred either that there was in the town a strong party loyal to the King, or else, as was found in so many cases, the inhabitants were desirous of peace and comfort, and were comparatively indifferent as to the upshot of the war. [Between April, 1543, and April, 1644, it is stated in Aubrey & Jackson's *Wiltshire* that Malmesbury changed hands twice, but under what circumstances I do not know]. We have, however, several accounts of its being taken by General Massey on May 24th in the latter year. On the 23rd he took Beverston Castle, and on the 24th he appeared before Malmesbury and summoned the Governor, "on behalf of the King and Parliament sitting at Westminster," to surrender, threatening the town with fire and sword if he refused. The Governor, Colonel Henry Howard, son of Lord Berkshire, made a spirited reply that he would maintain the town "for the King and Parliament sitting at Oxford." Within two hours Massey had obtained possession of the suburbs and lower town; the attack then languished; but it was renewed next morning, and the town captured, only two of the garrison being killed while Massey lost but one man. The Governor had a narrow escape, three musket balls passing through his clothes. There are two almost contemporaneous accounts of the taking of Malmesbury—the one in a Tract, the short title of which is "Ebenezer," printed June 4th, 1644, and the other in Corbet's Military Government of Gloucester. The account in Rushworth's collections seems to have been derived from these two sources. Mr. Hyett, in conclusion, traced the similarity of the two stormings, and showed how curiously alike were the careers of the two generals who took the town, Sir W. Waller and Sir E. Massey.

Taking from the table a copy of Jackson's Aubrey, Mr. Hyett said seven occasions were there enumerated on which the town changed hands, but he had found nothing of the other three there specified, nor were particulars given in the book. [We append the quotation from Aubrey and Jackson: "Malmesbury was occupied as a military post seven times between the summer of 1642 and May, 1644. 1. By Sir Edward Baynton for the Parliament. 2. By the Royalists under Lord Digby, or Col. Lunsford, Feb. 1643, just after the taking of Cirencester. 3. Re-captured by Sir Wm. Waller

on 22nd March in the same year. 4. Abandoned by Sir Edward Hungerford almost immediately afterwards, and again occupied by the Royalists from Cirencester. 5. Re-possessed by the Parliament Forces 20th April, the garrison being wanted by the King at Reading. 6. Re-taken by the Royalists after the victory of Roundway, July, 1643. 7. Recovered by Massey for the Parliament, 25th May, 1644 From this period it remained in the hands of the Parliament, being strengthened by an out-post of cavalry at Charlton Park. Malmesbury was a position of great importance, as it commanded the road between Oxford and Bristol."]

The party then assembled at the King's Arms Hotel, where lunch had been prepared, after which the Abbey Church was again visited. The Rev. G. Windsor Tucker made some remarks on the history of the Abbey. After which the Rev. W. Bazeley read his Paper on the History and Architecture of the sacred structure (which will follow, printed *in extenso*, and after its conclusion he made some further remarks, comparing it with the Cathedral of St. Peter at Gloucester. Mr. Kemys Bagnall-Oakeley (then a layman, but since admitted to Holy Orders), on behalf of his mother, who was unable to be present, read a Paper by her on the ancient and remarkable Sculptures which adorn the South Porch of the Church. This Paper is also printed and illustrated in the present volume.

Mr. J. C. S. Jennings afterwards received the members to afternoon tea, and shewed them the undercroft of his interesting Elizabethan residence. Tradition assigned the site as that of the Abbot's house, but Mr. Bazeley thought that it was more probable the site of the abbey infirmary. Mr. Jennings also exhibited some objects of interest connected with the town and abbey.

Votes of thanks having been passed to Mr. Jennings for his hospitality ; to Mr. Bazeley for acting as guide, and for his interesting Paper ; to Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley for her valuable Paper ; and to the other contributors to the Proceedings, the members went by Oxford Street and the old Abbey Workhouse to visit the site of the East Gate, which commanded the road from Cirencester to London. Traces still remain of the massive walls and the exact position of the flanking towers of the gateway are discernible. Beyond the East Gate is the Theyn's Bridge, now Holloway Bridge, crossing the Newnton Water. The remains of the wall on the East side of the town are better preserved than on any other, and are most picturesque. Across the water to the East was the Abbey Vineyard and the Vineyard Mill.

It was now time to return homewards, and the members proceeded to the King's Arms Hotel, where carriages were waiting to take them to Tetbury.

ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF MALMESBURY ABBEY CHURCH.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM BAZELEY, M.A. *(Hon. Secretary).*

THE present Abbey Church of Malmesbury, when it was completed by its Norman builders in the 12th century, consisted of a nave with aisles, a lantern tower, the floor of which, together with two bays of the nave, formed the choir, north and south transepts and a presbytery.

I am not aware that any excavations have been made with a view to discovering the shape of the eastern sides of the transepts and the east end of the presbytery; they were probably similar to what we see at Tewkesbury.

Until the Dissolution the Church was purely conventual. In 1541 it was made parochial instead of S. Paul's Church on the south side of the churchyard, the chancel of which was destroyed some forty years ago, and the tower of which is used as a bell-tower for this church.

It has commonly been said that the Abbey Church was built, or rebuilt, by Roger, the soldier bishop of Salisbury, whose episcopacy lasted from 1100 to 1137. It will be well for us to weigh the evidence before accepting this statement; for even the end of Bishop Roger's episcopacy, 1137, is certainly very early for the Transitional Norman style which we see before us.

William of Malmesbury, a Benedictine monk, holding the offices of Librarian and Precentor of Malmesbury, tells us that Bishop Roger seized the abbey about 1130 and attached it to his bishopric.

William of Malmesbury says: "He (Bishop Roger) was a prelate of a great mind, and spared no expense towards completing his designs especially in buildings, as may be seen in many places, but more particularly at Salisbury and at Malmesbury."

This *may* refer to the Abbey Church ; but it is more probable that it refers to the castle, which William of Malmesbury says : "Roger began even in the churchyard and scarcely a stone's throw from the principal church." This castle commanded the weakest side of the town, the narrow isthmus between the Avon and the Newnton Water, and stood on the site of the Bell Inn and Castle House at the west end of the church.

Surely if the abbey church had been rebuilt in William of Malmesbury's time he would have recorded such an important event. He certainly lived five years after Bishop Roger's death as his *Historia Novella* is carried down to the year 1142. His words, which have led writers to attribute the present church to Bishop Roger, seem to me to show that the Saxon church was yet standing when William of Malmesbury wrote. They are as follows : "The principal church in all its glory, and untouched by the restorer's hand, has lasted to our times." He was speaking of the church of S. Mary, founded, if not built, by S. Aldhelm, the first abbot, at the end of the 7th century.

The West Front.

The fragment of the West Front which remains will enable us to rebuild in imagination the whole façade. At first sight we might picture to ourselves a central gable rising between two towers, like the present west front of Ripon and Canterbury, and like Gloucester in the 13th century. But if we look at it from any point except exactly in front we shall see that the supposed south western tower has no south or east wall. The original west end was a façade and nothing more, the prototype of the west front of Salisbury. At either end of the façade was a turret with arcading in the 2nd and 3rd courses. The connecting wall between the turrets and the central gable, as far as we see it, consists of four orders. The lowest is an arcade of interlaced circular-headed arches with piers and capitals, similar to what we find on the south side of the nave and west sides of the two transepts. In the second course is a semi-circular window with perpendicular tracery inserted ; in the third and fourth are narrow round-headed arches, and above these plain masonry. To the

north of this wall is a large buttress pierced with narrow slits, but devoid of ornamentation.

The west end of the nave had a large round-headed window which, as we see, was superseded (in the 15th century) by a perpendicular window with four transoms. Below this was a Norman doorway with a very rich jamb. Within this doorway are seen the remains of a flat-headed perpendicular doorway.[1]

But the general appearance of this façade was completely changed in the 15th century by the addition of a central western tower, which is thus described by Leland in the 2nd volume of his *Itinerary*: "The other (tower) yet stondith a greate square toure at the west end of the church." If we stand on the east side of the façade we shall see traces of this tower. In most cases, where the builders of the 15th century determined to erect a western tower, they destroyed the west end and built beyond it. The proximity of the old castle, or the monastic buildings which succeeded it, prevented them from doing this at Malmesbury; so they determined to preserve the nave intact as the 14th century builders had left it. One of the flying buttresses which they constructed (above a 14th century clerestory buttress) in order to counteract the thrust of the arch which spanned the nave, above the groining of the roof between the 2nd and 3rd bays, still remains. We can also detect traces of this arch above the springing of the groining.

When the tower was complete, resting its east wall on the new arch, its north and south walls on the clerestory walls, and its west wall on the western façade, no sign of it would be seen from within this church. But the external appearance of the west end would be altogether changed and rendered as different from what it originally was as Hereford is from Salisbury. It was a bold attempt; but it ended in disaster. I know not when the tower fell. It was standing, as we have seen, in 1542. But in the view of Malmesbury Abbey, given in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, 1655, Vol. I., p. 50, the tower is gone. A traveller, who visited Malmesbury in 1634, saw what he believed to be the remains of two towers. The

[1] Buck's view represents the W. doorway as perfect in 1732.—(See also Mr. John Carter's Sketches in B.M., Add. MSS. 29938 and 29943.)

[2] See Brayley's Graphic and Historical Illustrations, p. 411.

people had forgotten whether there were two towers or one; but he probably refers to the two turrets.[1]

I think it probable that the removal of the cloister, which acted as a buttress to the north arcade, was the cause of the mischief, and that the tower fell in the latter part of the 16th century.

The South Porch.

The Norman West Doorway, with its beautiful series of Biblical Sculptures, is probably the best known and most interesting feature of Malmesbury Abbey. I hope we may have an opportunity, in July, of comparing with it the grand west doorway of Iffley, near Oxford.

The twelve figures on the inner Porch with the angels flying over their heads (*Plates II. and III.*) are, no doubt, relics of an earlier church—shall we say the Church of S. Mary, built by S. Aldhelm in the 7th century, and restored by Ælfric in the reign of Edgar, late in the 10th century? The flying angels must be compared with those at S. Lawrence's Church, Bradford-on-Avon, built, we are told, by S. Aldhelm soon after S. Mary's, Malmesbury. The church door is of three orders, and the tympanum is filled with sculpture representing our Lord and attendant angels. On the right side of the entrance to the church is a stoup for holy water. In the early part of the 14th century the porch was recased, and another arch, with the semi-circular form preserved, placed in front of the Norman gateway. Above the porch is a parvise, or priest's chamber, with a newel staircase communicating with the south aisle of the nave. The outer arch is of eight orders, and was probably finished, Mr. J. H. Parker considers, about 1170-1180.

There is a test for distinguishing between early and late Norman building. If we find traces of hammer and chisel work we may be fairly sure that it is not earlier than 1150. Previously to that date the stones were dressed with a sharp axe.

The tourist of 1634, to whom I have already referred, gives a list of the sculptures, and a description of the sacred events he supposed them to represent.[2]

[1] Lansdown MS. 213.

[2] See the extract from his account in M. E. C. Walcott's Mitred Abbey of S. Aldhelm, Malmesbury, 1876, 8° pp. 27-29.

South Side.

The south side of the church has been very much changed since its completion in the 12th century; but not so much as to render it difficult to imagine what it was. Three of the Norman windows remain filled with perpendicular tracery. Below these windows ran an ornamented arcade of intersecting semi-circular arches with piers and capitals, the counterpart of what we saw on the west porch. This arcading has been cut away in the 2nd and 3rd bays from the east where two interesting windows have been inserted in the 14th century. These windows lack the characteristic ball flower ornament of the Edwardian style; and the tracery, which was probably designed to suit the subject of the painted glass, has an awkward cusp in the middle of the central light.

The Decorated parapet with its flowing wavy tracery, divided in trefoils by cusps or leaves is exceedingly graceful.

The present clerestory, with its geometrical tracery, is very little loftier than that which preceded it. The Norman Pilasters and circular medallion ornaments, called *paterœ*, of the three eastern bays clearly show the dimensions and shape of the Norman clerestory.

The flying buttresses and pinnacles deserve attention. The pinnacle on the extreme right is different from the rest; but it may have been tampered with. There is an external staircase on the west wall of the transept leading to the roof of the nave.

The Lantern Tower.

The north and west arches of the great Central Tower alone remain. The western arch is blocked by three stages of masonry. This tower in the 12th century was low, as all Norman towers were, and open to the lantern. This is shown by the diamond-shaped ornaments which have been cut through by the 15th century groining of the ceiling. The western arch has as little projection as possible in the piers and recessed shafts in order that the view of the choir and presbytery from the nave may be unimpeded. The northern arch has, on the contrary, bold projecting responds to form backing for the choir stalls, and is of a horse-shoe or stilted

shape. I need not tell you that when the archivault of a semi-circular arch does not spring from the capitals, but the groining is carried up some feet higher before it begins to converge, it is called a stilted arch. In the absence of a pointed arch this form was necessary in order to make the four arches of the lantern tower of the same height. In the 13th century a spire was probably placed on the Norman work, similar to that which Helias erected at Gloucester. In the 15th century the monks constructed a groined roof, and, in doing so, enfeebled the whole structure. You can see traces of their work. Their object no doubt was to make the choir warmer.

Very soon after this work was finished the tower began to show signs of cracking, and it was thought best to desert the whole eastern end. The western arch was filled up with masonry as far as the springing, with the hope of strengthening the tower and putting off the evil day. But early in the reign of Hen. VIII. the spire fell down with a mighty crash and destroyed the choir, transepts and presbytery, or so damaged them that the monks had neither the heart nor the means to rebuild them. They blocked up the remainder of the arch and used the first two bays of the nave as their choir. We shall have further proofs of all this when we go into the church.

Leland, who visited Malmesbury, as you have heard, in 1542, says: "There were two steples, one that had a mightie high pyramis, and felle daungerusly *in hominum memoriá* and sins was not re-edified: it stode in the middle of the Transeptum of the Chirch, and was a Marke to all the countre about." [1]

The four arches seem to have stood until 1660, though knocked about by cannon balls in the Civil War. Aubrey tells us that on the 29th May, 1660, there were so many volleys of shot fired in honour of the King's restoration that one pillar and two parts above fell down that night. There is large hole on the outer side of the north arch where one of Sir W. Waller's cannon balls struck the church in 1643.

[1] Leland, Vol. II., p. 25. Hughes of Wooton Basset saies that the Steeple of Malmesbury Abbey was as high almost as Paule's . . . . s great Tower was at the end of the Church."—Aubrey's *Topographical Collections*, p. 256.

The Transepts and Presbytery.

The greater part of the west wall of the south transept still remains projecting two bays beyond the nave. The lower windows and arcade are similar to the windows and arcade in the nave. A pointed arch connected the transept with the aisle of the nave. In the triforium the windows assume, internally, the form of a triplet; but the side arches only open into a passage, the actual windows being single, but larger and longer than the other Norman windows in the church. We have nothing to guide us as to the form of the eastern walls of the transepts.

To the south transept is said to have been attached a little church, in which John Scotus was murdered by his pupils. Leland saw the remains of it in 1542.[1]

There is only a small fragment of the presbytery clinging to the northern arch of the tower. The general character must have resembled that of the nave with a little more ornamentation. It was probably a short Norman structure of three or four bays, like Peterborough and Romsey, and held the tombs of the founder and patron saint

Lady Chapel.

We know there was a chapel of S. Mary; but we have nothing to guide us as to its form of architecture.

North Side.

On the north side of the church, as at Gloucester, were the cloisters and the conventional buildings.

There is a small Norman doorway in the north-east bay of the nave, leading into the east cloisters, with zig-zag moulding and a rich volute ornamentation. Below this, but not in the centre of it, has been inserted a perpendicular doorway. The cloisters were evidently rebuilt in the 15th century. The groined ceiling of the doorway remains and the spring of the cloister roof may be seen in the south-east corner, against the north transept. The Norman cloister had, no doubt, a wooden lean-to roof, and was much wider than the 15th century cloisters which succeeded it.

[1] *Itinerary*, Vol. II., p. 53.

The windows on the north side of the church are, of course, higher than those on the south. With one exception they are the original Norman semi-circular headed windows with perpendicular tracery inserted. In the fourth bay the 14th century builders destroyed one cell of the Norman groined roof and inserted a larger window, carrying it up into a gable. The north wall has been recased and two of the Norman buttresses rebuilt.

The clerestory is Edwardian, and similar to that on the south side. There are four flying buttresses and two others which are run up solidly against the clerestory wall and crowned with Elizabethan finials resembling those on Mr. Jennings' house to the north-east. These seem to have been built to support the west tower or the arcade, when the tower had fallen. The four eastern pinnacles are like those on the south side of the church.

The Interior.

Of the nine bays of the Norman nave six only remain, and of these the fifth is blocked by an unsightly western gallery.

We are at once struck by the fine proportions of the triforium. The cylindrical piers, with their scalloped imposts, are much more graceful than those at Gloucester and Tewkesbury. The arches are slightly pointed. There is an increase of ornamentation in the two eastern bays. The position of the rood screen and loft are plainly marked.

In the triforium we have the unusual arrangement of four arches within one. We notice on the string-course, where it has not been wilfully defaced, a classic "Tau" shaped ornament, which has been reproduced on the organ loft. It has been inferred from this ornament that some of the workmen were Byzantine. Possibly some English masons who had seen Byzantine work in the East during one of the Crusades may have reproduced it so far in their own land.

From the caps of the pillars rise the shafts for supporting the original Norman flat roof. These have been cut off and crowned with a cluster of foliage in the 14th century. The hood mouldings over the arches terminate in monster heads, and there is a similar ornament above the apex of each arch.

The quadrapartite groining of the ceiling of the aisles may be compared with the Norman groining in the north aisle of Gloucester Cathedral. The vaulting of the nave is of the same date as the clerestory—the 14th century. The bosses are elegantly carved, and deserve careful study.

In the south aisle two decorated windows have been inserted in the Norman walls, to the detriment of the arcading. They resemble the windows in S. Mary Redcliffe, and the Mayor's Chapel, at Bristol. There is no trace within of the Norman clerestory. On the north side the remarkable 14th century window, which has been carried up through the roof into a gable, deserves careful study.

The present reredos seems to have been constructed for a screen in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII., and to have been placed against the east wall later on. It does not belong to the previous reign, as stated by McKenzie Walcott. The arms and supporters[1] and several of the badges are those of Hen. VIII. and Katharine of Arragon. There are also the Stafford knot, the griffin and the antelope, the badges of great Duke of Buckingham, who built Thornbury Castle, and was beheaded in 1521. And there is a rudder of a ship, which was the device of Lord Willoughby de Broke.[2] The central doorway shows that it was a screen and not a reredos. As the screen was erected to form a temporary choir in the nave, when the great eastern tower had fallen, or was in danger of falling, the date I venture to assign to it, 1520, may be considered the approximate date of the disaster.

On the south side of the nave is a stone gallery with square apertures, which probably formed a watching loft for the sacristan who had the care of the lamps in front of the rood and high altar.

The west window behind the organ gallery is quite modern.

[1] Henry VIII. used his father's supporters, the greyhound and the lion, in his first seal, and afterwards adopted the lion and the griffin. This fact leads me to think that the date of the screen was nearer 1521 than 1509.

[2] For the connection between the families of Stafford and Willoughby de Broke, see Aubrey's account of Brook House.—*Topographical Collections.* Devizes, 1862.

There are some very interesting floor tiles in the vestry worthy of greater care. The bordering tiles with a coney, or rabbit, and a monkey holding a vase are quite new to me. One tile has the De Spencer fret.

The so-called tomb of Athelstan (which seems to be of 15th century sculpture) probably stood on the north side of the high altar in the presbytery, the place allotted to royal founders, and was removed to its present position after the eastern portion of the abbey had fallen into ruins. The head is said to be a restoration of the 17th century. The hands are cased in a falconer's gloves with tassels.

I must express my very great indebtedness to Mr. E. A. Freeman without whose Paper, in the eighth volume of the Wilts Archæological and Natural History Magazine, I could not have found out the architectural secrets of this church or made these notes.[1]

[1] *The Architecture of Malmesburg Abbey Church.* By E. A. Freeman, Esq. *The Wiltshire Magazine,* Vol. VIII., pp. 82-100.

ANCIENT SCULPTURES
IN THE
SOUTH PORCH OF MALMESBURY ABBEY CHURCH.

BY MARY ELLEN BAGNALL-OAKELEY.

ON each side of the South Porch of Malmesbury Abbey Church are large semi-circular slabs sculptured with rows of seated figures in high relief, and these sculptures are so unlike any other carving in the church, and have been so much chipped away to fit their present position, that there seems little doubt but that they belonged to a building anterior to any of the existing remains. The present structure was erected early in the 12th century, and is a fine specimen of early Transitional Norman work ; but there appears to have been two buildings erected in Saxon times.

Malmesbury was a centre of early Saxon civilization, and may be considered as a parent of religion and literature in the West of England. It was here that Maildulf established a school in the early part of the 7th century, and this school had the honour of educating St. Aldhelm, who is described by his contemporary, the Ven. Bede, as "a man most learned in all respects," and whose name is one of the most distinguished in the early ecclesiastical literature of England. He afterwards became the first Bishop of Sherborne, A.D. 705, and in later life returned to Malmesbury as the first Abbot of the Monastery, which he had founded there. In 937 King Athelstan adopted Aldhelm as his patron Saint, and rebuilt his monastery from the ground, enriching it with large grants of lands, and at his death was buried within its sacred walls.

To this church the sculptures in the porch probably belonged. We know that even in those early times churches were decorated with carvings and pictures, for in the 7th century Benedict Biscop

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[illegible] Sculptures in Malmesbury Church

built the Church of St. Peter at Monkwearmouth "in the Roman style, which he much admired"; and he imported his masons from Gaul: he also built the Church of Jarrow; the dedication stone of which is still to be seen there. In 710 Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow, sent an architect, at the request of Nailon, King of the Picts, to build a church of stone according to the manner of the Romans in his country, on the understanding that it was to be dedicated to the "Blessed Chief of the Apostles"; and we have the evidence of a contemporary history, that St. Wilfrid, in the latter part of the 7th century, had "erected and finished at Ripon a basilica of polished stone from its foundation to the top, supported on high by various columns and porticos.[1]

The sculptures at Malmesbury certainly agree in one respect with the description of these early Saxon churches, for they are carved in the "Roman style," and the dresses of the seated figures, and the representation of the angels flying above them, are so similar to late Roman work, that it can scarcely be doubted that the sculptor who executed them had some ancient work as his model.

The figures no doubt represent the Apostles seated on a long bench, such as is often seen in Saxon MSS., and the heads of some of the figures so awkwardly inclined on one side is also a peculiarity noticeable in these MSS. In the Pontifical of Landulphus, 9th century, many of the figures are so represented, and this attitude seems always to express reverence for some central figure. At Malmesbury this central figure, *at present*, within an aureol snpported by two flying angels, is the Saviour in Majesty, carved in the tympanum of the South door of the Church, but this sculpture is evidently of later date than the others, and is very similar to a larger carving at Ely Cathedral (*Plate I.*) It was probably placed in its present position at the Norman re-building of the Abbey.

The earliest representations of the Apostles were purely emblematical, and they were figured as twelve sheep in a line, with Christ in the midst. The next step was to represent them as twelve

[1] Edd. II. Veta Wilf.

men, all alike, often carrying sheep ; again a little later they were represented as twelve venerable men bearing scrolls in their hands, but with no symbols to distinguish one from the other. They are thus represented in the apses of the most ancient of the Churches of Rome and Ravenna. St. Peter was the first of the apostles to be figured with his symbol of the key, and some time later St. Paul is drawn with his sword ; but it was not till the 9th century that the other apostles were usually represented with their proper symbols. The Malmesbury figures have several peculiarities which tend to prove them to be of very early date. They have no nimbus round their heads, and six of them hold books in their left hands ; all are without symbols except St. Peter, who carries in his right hand a key of very early form. This apostle is represented as a beardless man, which is a peculiar feature of Saxon art.[1] All the others, except St. John, have beards.[2] Above the heads of the figures are flying angels, which are much like late Roman " Victories," and also bear a considerable resemblance to the carved angels at the Church of St. Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon, which are pronounced by Mr. Freeman to be part of the original edifice erected by St. Aldhelm at the same time as he founded Malmesbury Abbey, and the Abbey of Frome, A.D. 705. The sculptures at Malmesbury are about 10ft. long by 4ft. 6in. high, they are in wonderfully good preservation, except where the arms and feet of the angels have been damaged, and repaired with cement, and where the lower portion of the figure of St. Peter has been similarly treated. The semi-circular arch which encloses them appears to have been built when the large slabs were removed to their present situation ; they evidently occupied different positions to those they are now in. Their shape would suggest that they had been the tympanums of great doors, but their size and excellence do not accord with the small and comparatively insignificant buildings of early date which remain to us. Whatever was their purpose, they were probably imported from the continent, or executed by foreign

[1] See Ethelwald's Benedictional and Guthlac's book, &c.

[2] The order in which the apostles are represented on the west side is SS. Peter, Andrew, James, John, Philip and Bartholomew. On the east there is nothing to identify the remaining apostles, though St. Matthew is generally represented carrying his gospel.

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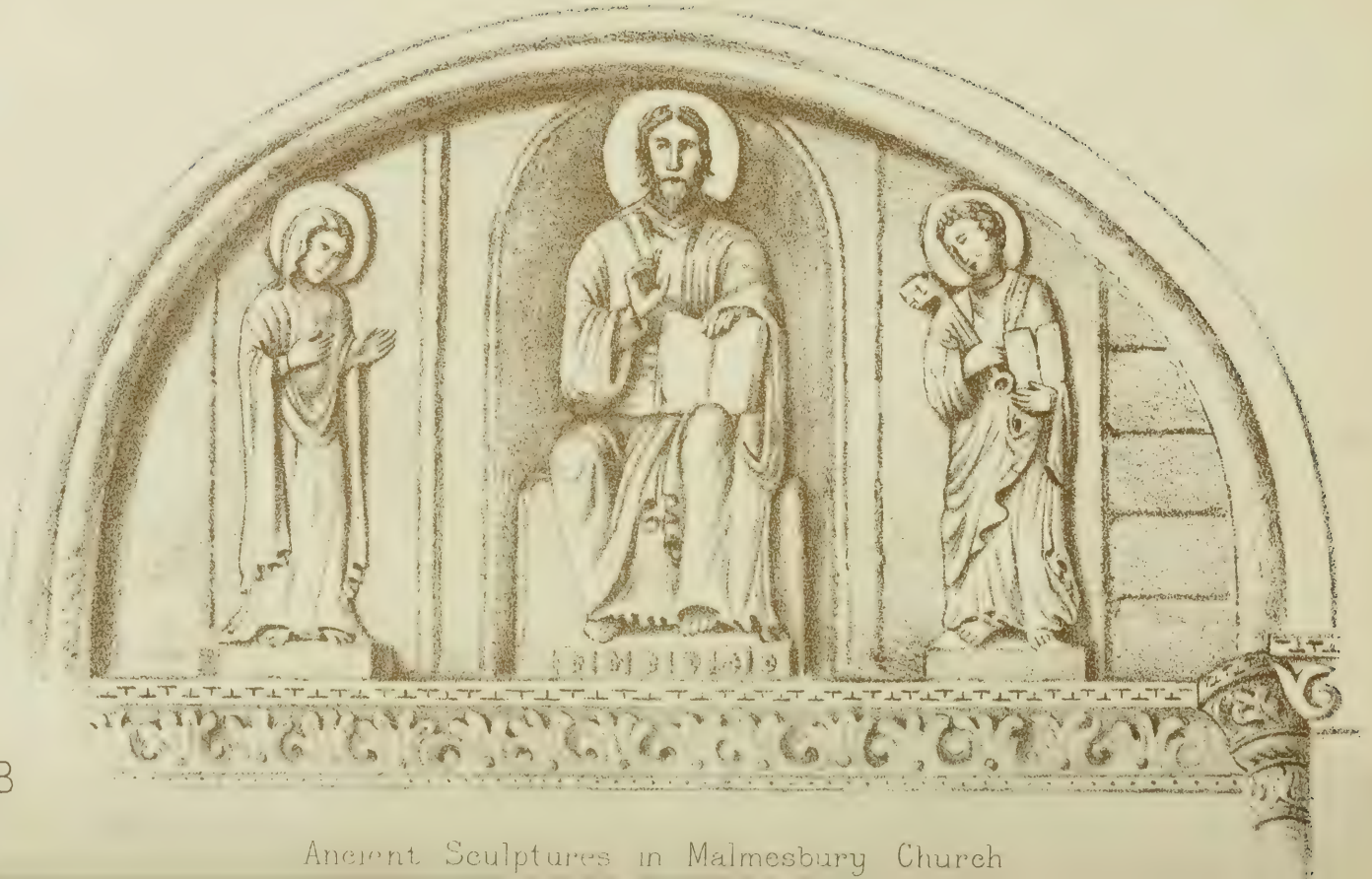
Ancient Sculptures in Malmesbury Church.

Ancient Sculptures in Malmesbury Church



Ancient Sculptures in Malmesbury Church

workmen in England, as was the case with the ancient church of Monkwearmouth before referred to.

Over the great south door of the Church of St. Helena, at Trèves, there is a semi-circular tympanum, almost identical in size with the carvings at Malmesbury, but the figures of St. Peter and St. Helena are represented standing, one on each side of the Saviour (*Plate IV*), and this, in addition to a key of later form, and a certain difference in the folds of their robes, are proofs of their later date. This door is part of the alterations in the Church, which took place A.D. 1016.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society

At the Summer Meeting held at Moreton-in-Marsh.

The Annual Summer Meeting of the Society was held at Moreton-in-Marsh, on Tuesday and Wednesday, 14th and 15th; and at Oxford, on Thursday and Friday, 16th and 17th July, 1891, the arrangements for which had been made by a Local Committee consisting of the following gentlemen :—The Rev. Canon G. D. Bourne, M.A., *Chairman*; Mr. C. Belcher, B.A.; Rev. F. Farrar, M.A.; Rev. H. B. Herberden, M.A.; Rev. Spencer Jones, M.A.; Rev. J. H. Killick, M.A.; Mr. J. N. Moore; Rev. D. Royce, M.A.; Rev. A. Williams, M.A.; Rev. F. E. Broome Witts, M.A.; and Mr. F.V. Witts. The following acted as Local Secretaries :—The Rev. Spencer Jones, M.A.; Messrs. Algernon Rushout and C.W. C. Oman, M.A.

There was a large attendance of Members and their friends, among whom were Dr. Beddoe, F.R.S., &c., *The President of the Society;* Sir Brook Kay, Bart., *The President of the Council;* Sir John Maclean, F.S.A., F.R.S.A., *Vice-President and Ex-President;* Mr. Christopher Thomas, *Vice-President and Ex President;* Rev. Canon Bourne, F.S.A., *Vice-President and Ex-President;* Mr. William Leigh, V.P.; The Revs. J. W. Caldicott, D.D.; Canon Cholmondeley; F. Farrar; E. J. Houghton; D. Royce; Spencer Jones; F. E. Broome Witts; W. T. Allen; and others; A. B. Freeman-Mitford, Esq., C.B., *President Elect;* Messrs. F. A. Hyett; Messrs. S. H. Swayne; Robert Taylor; E. A. D'Argent; C. Bowley; John Bush; V. R. Perkins; C. J. Trusted; H. W. Bruton, &c., &c., and many ladies.

The Society was received at the Redesdale Hall by the Rev. Canon Bourne, and Members of the Local Committee. Canon Bourne, on behalf of the Committee, cordially welcomed the Society to Moreton-in-Marsh and its neighbourhood, observing, that the district possessed much of interest, and was not so well known as it ought to be. The whole had been fought over from the earliest time down to the modern days of the struggles between the King and the Parliament. He hoped, however, that during the Meeting we should hear read some carefully prepared and attractive papers which would be the means of increasing our knowledge of the local history and antiquities of this outlying part of the County of Gloucester.

The President of the Society (John Beddoe, Esq., M.D., F.R.S.) then took the chair, and called upon the Honorary Secretary (the Rev. Wm. Bazeley) to read the Annual Report of the Council for the past year.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1890-1.

The Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society presents its Sixteenth Annual Report. There are at the present 377 Annual

Members, 77 Life Members and 2 Honorary Members on the Society's List, giving a total strength of 456 members. The Income for the Financial Year, ending April 21st, 1891, was £286 19s. 9d.; the Expenditure amounted to £278 9s. 10d.; and a balance remained at the Society's bankers on April 21st, 1891, of £286 19s. 9d., as against a balance of 278 9s. 10d. at the corresponding period in 1890. From this balance must be deducted the cost of the Society's Transactions for 1890-1, the first part of which is in the Members' hands and the second part is partly in type. The Society has, moreover, a funded capital of £432 3s. 8d. in consols, representing the fees of Life Members.

The Society has held two General Meetings during the past year. On July 22nd, 1890, the Society visited Bristol, Wells and Glastonbury. A detailed account of this Meeting appears in the part of the annual volume which has been lately issued; but the Council would take this opportunity of expressing its obligations to all who took part in preparing for the reception of the Members at Bristol, and in carrying out the arrangements which had been made. The special thanks of the Society are due to the Master and Wardens of the Company of the Merchant Venturers for their splendid hospitality, and to Mr. E. A Freeman, The Rev. Canon Church and Mr. St. John Hope for their eloquent and interesting addresses on Glastonbury Abbey, Wells Cathedral, and the Insignia of the Bristol Corporation.

On the 26th May, 1891, a Spring Meeting was held at Malmesbury; and the Abbey Church and other objects of interest were visited under the guidance of the General Secretary. Thanks are due to the Mayor of Malmesbury, to the old Corporation of Malmesbury, to the Vicar of the Parish, and to Dr. Jennings, for their courteous reception of the Members who attended the Meeting.

In August, 1891, the Royal Archæological Institute held its Annual Meeting at Gloucester, the second in that city after an interval of twenty-one years. An influential Local Committee, largely composed of Members of this Society, prepared for the visit of our distinguished guests. Mr. Waller and Mr. Blakeway, Members of Council, acted as Local Secretaries, and the General Secretary was appointed conductor of the excursions.

On the first day of the Meeting, August 12th, the President of this Council, Sir Brook Kay, Bart., presented the following address of welcome to the Royal Archæological Institute on behalf of this Society :—

SIR JOHN DORINGTON,

MY LORD PERCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

As President of the Council of the BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, I am desired, in the name of the Council and Members, to offer a very hearty welcome to the ROYAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN & IRELAND to this County.

Thirty years have passed since your Society held its first Meeting at Gloucester; but the results of your visit has made a lasting impression on our study of Mediæval Art and History. It was in the able address of that learned Antiquary, Professor Willis, that our attention was first called to the fact, so clearly and undoubtedly written in the MS. History of St. Peter's Abbey, that here in our noble Cathedral was originated not only the style of Architecture called Perpendicular, but also that form of groining known as Fan Tracery which has never been excelled.

We cannot forget that many residents of this County who took part in your reception at that time [I may mention Sir William Guise, Mr. Gambier Parry, Mr. John Niblett, and Canon Lysons] have been taken from us, and a new generation of students of Archæology have risen up in their stead. We do not doubt, however, that the same interest that was manifested in your Proceedings in 1860 will again be taken on the present occasion by the inhabitants of this City and County.

We would gladly show you some of the Roman Camps and Norman Churches, in which this County abounds; but in Gloucester Cathedral and Tewkesbury Abbey you will have excellent examples of the many religious houses, that gave rise in this vale of the Severn to the ancient adage "as sure as God is in Gloucestershire."

At Sudeley; sad memories of the closing days of Queen Katherine Parr, and of the troublous times in the middle of the 17th century, of which no other County has a greater share than Gloucestershire, will be awakened in your minds; at Chedworth, and at Spoonley, you will have interesting examples of the Roman Villas with which the County west of the Cotteswolds is thickly studded.

An excursion will be made to visit Berkeley with its Baronial Castle, dating from the 12th century—still in a perfect condition of repair; and Thornbury, with its fine Church and its Tudor Castle, the unfinished conception of the princely but unfortunate Buckingham of the reign of Henry VIII.

We congratulate you on the great work that your Society has achieved during the last half century. The BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE SOCIETY, with an average membership of well nigh 500, since its foundation in 1876, has been endeavouring to follow in your footsteps, and awaken the interest of our countrymen in the monuments and records of the past.

We venture to hope that our volumes of Transactions, which have been edited for fourteen years by a distinguished member of the ROYAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, may meet with your approval, and assist you in the study of those objects of interest which it is your intention to examine.

B. KAY,

President of the Council.

During the last year the Corporation of Gloucester has issued to subscribers a *Rent Roll of Houses in Gloucester in 1455.* This work has been well edited by Mr. W. H. Stevenson, and the printing by Mr. John Bellows is excellent. Three other works of interest relating to this county may be expected during the forthcoming year: *The Calendar of the Records of the Corporation of Gloucester*, edited by Mr. W. H. Stevenson; *The Winchcombe Chartulary*, edited by the Rev. D. Royce; and a *Descriptive Catalogue of Charters at Berkeley Castle*, edited by Mr. Jeayes.

Mr. W. P. W. Philimore has invited subscriptions to a series of *Gloucestershire Records*, and has succeeded the late Rev. B. H. Blacker as editor of *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries.* The Council has decided to subscribe for all these works. *The Manual of Gloucestershire Bibliography*, which has been undertaken by two members of this Council—Mr. F. A. Hyett and the Rev. W. Bazeley, has been steadily progressing, and it is hoped that a Prospectus of the work may be issued early next year.

The second Congress of Archæological Societies, in connection with the Society of Antiquaries, was held at Burlington House in July last, at which Sir John Maclean and Sir Henry Barkly acted as Delegates from this Society, and many subjects of interest relating to the Preservation of Ancient Monuments and the work of Archæological Societies was considered. The General Secretary and another member of Council will act as delegates on the 23rd of this month.

The Council has during the last year received the Transactions of wenty-one kindred societies in exchange for the Transactions of this Society, and has added many works to the Society by exchange, donation and purchase. A revised list of the Society's books has been printed and will be issued to members with the second part of Vol. XV. of the Transactions.

The Council regrets to record the death of the following members who have at various times given valuable help to the Society in its work:—The Rev. B. H. Blacker, editor of *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, Mr. W. P. Price and Mr. J. W. Hallewell. The Council now nominates for re-election the President of Council, the Vice-Presidents of the Society, the General

Treasurer, the General Secretary, and the Secretaries Local and Sectional. The Council also nominates as Vice-President of the Society Mr. J. T. Agg-Gardner, M.P., who presided over the Society in 1889-90.

The following members of Council retire by rotation; but are eligible for re-election :—The Rev. S. E. Bartleet, the Rev. Canon Ellacombe, The Rev. J. M. Hall, The Rev. H. D'Ombrain, The Rev. W. Bagnall-Oakeley; Messrs. F. A. Hyett, G. S. Blakeway, R. Taylor and H. Medland.

The Council has held four Meetings during the last year—one at Bristol, two at Gloucester, and one at Cheltenham, and begs to express its acknowledgements to the Mayors and Town Clerks of Gloucester and Cheltenham for the accommodation afforded in the Tolsey at Gloucester and the Council Chamber at Cheltenham.

The Rev. A. Silvester Davies moved that the Report of the Council be accepted, which was seconded by the Rev. W. Taprell Allen, and unanimously adopted.

The Rev. F. E. Broome Witts proposed, and the Rev. A. Silvester Davies seconded, that all members of the Council who retire by rotation, except Mr. R. Taylor, who desires to withdraw, be re-elected for the ensuing year, which proposal was adopted. The Rev. S. E. Bartleet and the Rev. A. Silvester Davis, were also duly elected.

The President then requested Mr. Hyett to bring before the Meeting the Resolution of which he, jointly with Mr. W. C. Lucy and Mr. G. B. Witts, had given notice.

Mr. Hyett read Rule V. of the Society, which provides that "eminence in Archæology" shall be the only qualification for Honorary Membership. It is in these words; "Rule V. The Honorary Members shall be nominated by the Council for their eminence in Archæology, and elected by a Subscribers' Meeting. In addition to the privileges of General Membership, they shall have the right of attending and speaking at Subscribers' meetings." And he said that the object of his resolution was slightly to extend the qualification within well defined limits, so as to enable the Society, if it thought fit, to elect as Hon. Members any Hon. Treasurer or Hon. General Secretary who had held office for a given number of years. Mr. Hyett said that he had been given to understand that the amendment which he proposed was objected to by some on the ground that it would lower the status of Honorary Members as originally constituted. He did not believe that it would have any such effect. Quite as much was done for the cause of Archæology by Societies such as this, as by individual effort, and these Societies could not exist a single day but for the voluntary labour of their Executive Officers. Mr. Hyett refused to believe that Archæologists, however eminent, would consider it derogatory to be associated with gentlemen who had been working in the same field as themselves. All he asked the Society to do was to reserve to itself the power of expressing its appreciation of the services rendered to it and to Archæology by those who had acted for a considerable period as its Secretary or Treasurer. This it could do by paying them the slight compliment of electing them Honorary Members. He believed his amendment would distinctly improve the constitution of the Society.

evidently either vaulted in stone or intended so to be, as appears from the clustered corbel shafts remaining in the north and south walls, and corresponding pillars also remain at the north-east and south-west corners. Above the present ceiling are remains of a former open-timbered roof of high pitch. One Norman window still exists on the north side, the other two, which lighted this side, being closed with masonry. They were of a size corresponding with the one still existing. The east window is pointed, and clearly a later insertion. It is of five lights, with geometric tracery in the head."

The Chancel Arch is of Perpendicular work, with plain chamfered mouldings springing from the original Norman piers, supporting a former arch. The lower portion of these piers has been cut away to widen the aperture, in which is a Perpendicular screen of three divisions, the central one being open and without any ornament, the side compartments being divided by open panel work with pierced tracery in the heads, the lower portions consisting of solid panels. Access to the rood-loft was gained by a stair in the thickness of the south chancel wall, now closed up. The roof is plastered internally, and is a plain pointed vault.

The windows on the south side of the chancel have been altered, retaining the size of the original Norman openings with their side columns, but the heads are converted into pointed arches with geometric tracery. The central window on this side has been entirely altered. It is of three lights with perpendicular tracery in the head. Underneath is a square-headed priest's doorway. Under the south-east window is a handsome piscina and sedilia of decorated work, the whole series comprising four ogee openings with crockets and finials above. The piscina is trefoiled in the head, with cuspings. It is divided by a shelf, and has a water receptacle and drain, and has lately been restored. The sedilia is a triple one, the shafts dividing the series being detached. The mouldings of the arches are continued to the base of each division of the sedilia.

On the north side of the chancel is a pointed doorway leading to an Early English structure (now used as a vestry). It consists of two stories. It was anciently used as a chapel of the chantry founded by Ralph de Bateson in 1320, and was probably occupied by the chantry priest.

The ancient South Doorway was of Norman work, within which has been inserted a later Perpendicular square frame-work, enclosing a pointed arch, the spandrils being filled in with ornament.

The Font is Decorated in character, octagonal, with quartrefoils on each face enhanced with a four-leaved flower. It is raised on one step only.

The Tower is of four stages, of poor design. Above the west door, on the second story, is a round-headed window. On the third story is a clock dial, and on the fourth story is a window of two lights on each face of the tower, and the tower has a pinnacle on each angle. It was built in 1727 at a cost of £500."

The chapel, before mentioned, as on the north side of the chancel, is now a mortuary chapel of the Northwick family. It was divided from the north aisle by a screen, and the piscina in the north respond of the easternmost column of the arcade shows that there was an altar against this screen at the east end of the north aisle. It is probable that the chantry of the Blessed

Plate V.

Brass in Blockley Church, Worcestershire

Virgin, founded by John de Blockley in 1375, was at this altar, or at the altar in the aforesaid chapel, the piscina of which is of a very ornate character, though now greatly mutilated. The north aisle is of four bays, separated from the nave by hexagonal columns supporting plain chamfered arches, and lighted by a debased window in each bay, and two similar windows, though smaller, above it.

The Monuments.

The Church is rich in monuments, though during the last century the brasses have greatly suffered. Nash, when he wrote in 1781, mentions three Ecclesiastical Brasses as being in the chancel:—1st, "in the north side of the chancel, on a blue marble slab, is a priest praying to the Virgin and child.[1] On a scroll over his head is the following legend: "Unica spes vite michi virgo felica pande." By his side a chalice," and underneath the following verses:

"Insignem gravitate virum gemino decoratum
Scole gradu, semp' pietat, ad opera pmum
In fineres versum, duroque sub marmore pssum
Plangite, vox que sonet sit tibi vita deus."[2]

The whole is encompassed by this inscription:

Hic jacet magister Phillipus Marthim in artibus magister quondam vicarius ecclesie de Blockley, qui obiit in crastino Sti Bartholomei anno dñi Mcccclxxxiiii.[3]

(Plate V.)

Nash says further: "On the other side of the chancel is a priest wearing a cope.[4] On one side of the border are these words:

Jesus amor meus, vita mea, justorum lætitia.

On the other side: Ne elongeris a me, Deus meus. Over the body: Benedictus Deus.

[1] The figures of the Virgin and child have disappeared.

[2] These verses are omitted by Nash. Where the legends remain we have followed the spelling.

[3] This marginal inscription, though in existence in 1827, when the Rev. T. Eyre wrote his Guide to Blockley, is now lost. And the figure had been turned with the face looking towards the north.

[3] He is represented kneeling, and not vested in a cope, but in the usual eucharistic vestments, viz:—alb, adorned with apparel both before and behind, chasuble, amice, and maniple. The alb and chasuble are unusually full. The latter, doubtless, covers the stole, which is not apparent.

Underneath :

Orate pro anima magistri Willi Neele quondam vicarii hujus ecclesie et Rectoris ecclesie de Burton super aquam qui obiit viij die Augusti anno domini M° v^c x^v cujus anime propicietur Deus. Amen.[1] (*Plate VI.*)

The third Brass mentioned by Nash he describes as being that of a priest on a tomb in the middle of the chancel praying, with this inscription under his feet :

Quisquis eris qui transieris sta, perlege, plora;
Sum quod eris, fueramque quod es: pro me precor ora.

On the border of the same stone is an inscription much defaced by time, in these words :

Hic jacet Magister Willielmus Lombharte bacalaureus utriusque juris, quondam rector ecclesi de [Stretton[2] super] Fosse, qui obiit in vigilia Sti Trinitatis, videlicet, duodecimo die mensis Junii[1] A.D. [M[1]Dxxxiij][3]

The effigy of this Brass was lost before 1827, but all the inscription then remained except the words enclosed in square brackets above. All that now remains are the words :

Trinitatis Videlli' Duodecimo die mensis Junij."

There are many other monuments in the church, some of them handsome, chiefly to members of the families of Childe, Rushout, Carter and Martyn. The earliest is of the date 1601. A very handsome mural monument of marble, in the style of the period. The effigy of a man in armour kneeling at a desk within Corinthian columns supporting a pediment (or cornice). It is adorned with three escutcheons of arms :—

1. Gu. a chev. erm. betw. three eagles,[1] *close, arg.* for CHILDE.

[1] This Brass, when Mr. Eyre published his Guide, had been removed into the sanctuary with the blue marble slab above described, but when it was determined, a few years ago, to pave the sanctuary with tiles the Brass was taken up for its preservation, but a portion only of the inscription was preserved. The Brass was set up at the back of the middle seat of the sedilia, and the two small scrolls were set in the spandrils of the arch above.

[2] Stretton was formerly, though itself a Rectory, a Chapelry of Blockley, and had no right of burial.

[3] In this year Easter fell on 13th April.

Brass in Blockley Church, - Worcestershire.

2. Childe—*impaling: arg. a lion rampant purpure crowned or*, for Foliot.

3. Childe—*impaling: arg., a chev. betw. three scaling ladders sa.* for Jefferies.

Crest—*An eagle with wings expanded argent, enveloped round the neck and body with a snake proper.*[1]

On the monument is a long fulsome laudatory inscription, a striking contrast to the simple prayer on the Brasses we have described above: "*Upon whose soul God have mercy,*" and "*Jesus, the object of my love, my life, the joy of the just. Be not far from me, O my God. Blessed be God.*"

The above-mentioned monument was piously erected by William Childe, son and heir of William Childe, Esq., deceased in 1615. There are several monuments with the same type of inscriptions, to other members of the Childe family. On one is the effigy of a woman reclining at full length, in the dress of the period. On it is a shield of arms: Childe, as before, impaling: *azure, on a fess wavy arg. a cross pattee gu. in chief two estoiles or*, for Jenkinson.

It is stated that she herself wrote the epitaph a short time before her death.

There are some other sumptuous monuments to members of the family of Rushout, successors of the Childes, with inscriptions in somewhat better taste.

In the churchyard is a touching one with the following inscription:—

Near to this place do lye,
Ten pretty Babes of sweet infancy
Who only came into the world and cry'd
To be baptized of their sins and dy'd.
And Walter Long their father lyeth here
A Loving Husband and Father dear,
The Frowns of men he did never fear
But still a heart of charity did bear.

He departed this life June 12, 1712, aged 60 years.

In the Chancel is a bible of the time of James I.; a remnant of Fox's Book of Martyrs; and a very old edition of Bishop Jewel's Apology. The Parish Registers commence from the first institution of such records in 1538, and are specially interesting, not only for the entries they contain, but also for the beauty of the caligraphy.

From the Church the party proceeded to Northwick Park, where they were kindly welcomed by Lady Northwick, and were shewn the splendid

1 The birds in the Childe coat are blazoned in Eyre's "Guide to Blockley" as *Doves*, but according to the record in the Heralds' College (C. 30, fol. 60) they should be *Eagles*.

gallery of pictures, collected by the late John, Baron Northwick, the uncle of the present Baron, who was a great lover of Art. Having partaken of tea in the orangery, they proceeded to Batsford Park, the seat of the present President of the Society. Both Mr. Freeman-Mitford and Lady Clementina gave the Society a cordial reception and entertained them with an early supper. Before leaving the Rev. Canon Bourne expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Freeman-Mitford and Lady Clementina for their hospitable reception. Mr. Mitford, in acknowledgment, said it had been a great pleasure to him to receive the Society at Batsford Park.

Then departing, the company reached Moreton just in time for the

CONVERSAZIONE,

which was held in the Redesdale Hall at 8.30. The President occupied the chair, and there was a large assemblage present.

In opening the Meeting the President said he had to express his regret, in which he was confident the company would participate, when he told them that Mr. Royce, who had kindly prepared a Paper to be read this evening, "On the Church and Parish of Bourton-on-the-Hill," had, in driving in from Stow, unfortunately lost his manuscript. [N.B. Luckily it was afterwards recovered, and will be printed in this volume.]

The first Paper this evening was then read by Mr. C. Belcher, B.A., on the *History of Moreton-in-Marsh*. This also will be printed *in extenso* in this volume, as will also be the following:—

Paper by Mr. F. A. Hyett on *Four Incidents in the Civil War*, and a Paper on *The Church and Manor House of Little Compton*, by the Rev. J. H. Killick, M.A., Vicar of the Parish.

WEDNESDAY, 15TH JULY.

On this day an Excursion was arranged to visit certain places of interest in the neighbourhood of Moreton, and conclude the day's proceedings at Oxford, to which place directions had been given for the conveyance of the luggage of such members as purposed going thither. Accordingly, early in the morning, brakes were drawn up at the Hotel, but before leaving Moreton a very hearty vote of thanks was given to the Rev. Spencer J. Jones, the Rector of Moreton, for the valuable assistance he had rendered to the Society in making arrangements for the Meeting, and for the efficient manner in which they had been subsequently carried into effect.

The first place in the programme to be visited was Little Compton, upon the Manor House and Church of which a very interesting Paper had been read on the previous evening at the Converzatione, by the Rev. John H. Killick, the Vicar of the Parish, which will be printed *post*. In driving to Compton the party passed the Four-Shire-Stones, at which the four counties of Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire conjoin. To these the attention of the party was directed.

LITTLE COMPTON CHURCH AND MANOR HOUSE.

On their arrival at Little Compton, during a cheerful peal of the church bells in honour of their visit, the excursionists were cordially welcomed by the Vicar, the Rev. John H. Killick, who pointed out to them the special features of interest in the Church, and then conducted them to the Manor House, which manor was purchased by Dr. William Juxon, then Bishop of

London, *circa* 1640, to which considerable additions were subsequently made, including the Manor of Lemington near "The Shire Stones." As Bishop of London, Dr. Juxton attended the martyred King during his last moments on the scaffold, and after the execution took charge of his body and accompanied it to Windsor. After the last solemn offices had been done there the Bishop retired to his recently purchased estate at Little Compton, where he remained in peace during the turbulent times which followed the death of the King until the Restoration, when he was preferred to the Archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury in 1660. He did not hold it long, however, for he died on the 4th June, 1663, aged 81, and by his own desire was buried in the chapel of St. John's College, Oxford, of which he had been formerly Master, and to which he had bequeathed a munificent legacy (see Will, *post* p. 34). The body of his old friend, patron, and predecessor at Canterbury, Archbishop Laud, was afterward laid by his side. The Archbishop's portrait still graces the hall at Little Compton, and many relics of him are carefully and reverently preserved in the house, but some articles had been removed, *e.g.* the old black-letter bible, now at Chastleton, and a handsome old chair, or stool, now in the Cottage Hospital, of a form at present known in the trade as a "Curule Stool." Mr. Killick stated that it had been for some time missing, but eventually it was found in a laundry, and was presented to the Cottage Hospital by Mr. Sands Cox. To it is attached a card with the following history, in manuscript :—

"The Chair in which King Charles the 1st sat during his trial in Westminster Hall—and which passed directly to Mr. Sands Cox, who obtained it from Lady Fane, of Little Compton, in the County of Warwick, the direct descendant of Bishop Juxon."

The descent is shewn in the annexed pedigree. The bible is said to have been used by the King on the scaffold, but it appears to us not at all probable that the King used a bible in such circumstances. Another tradition is that the King presented it to the Bishop on the eve of his execution as a memento of his majesty's esteem and friendship, which we think is much more likely. The bible is said to be dated in 1637 (Marah's Life of Archb. Juxon).

John Juxon, of London

Richard Juxon, of Chichester.

William Juxon, born at Chichester, 1583 ; Bishop of London, 1633 ; Lord High Treasurer, 1635 ; Archbishop of Canterbury, 1660 ; died 4th June, 1663, unm. æt. 81. Will dated 20 Sept. 1662. Prob. 4 July, 1663.

....

Sir William Juxon, created a Baronet 28 Dec. 1660 ; Sheriff of Gloucester, 1676 ; died

Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Walter, of Saresden, co. Oxford, Bart.

Sir William Juxon, of Compton, co. Glouc. Bart., son and heir ; married 1726 ; died 3 Feb. 1740, s.p. aged 79, when the title became extinct.

Susanna, yst daughter of John Marriott, of Sturton Hall, co. Suffolk, Esq. She surv. her husband. Married, 2ndly, 7 June, 1749, Charles Visc't Fane and Baron Larghguyre, in the Peerage of Ireland, who died 24th Jan. 1766, s.p., when the peerage became extinct. After his death she succeeded to Compton for her life. She died 10th April, 1796, aged 86.

The early history of Archbishop Juxon is very obscure. Many circumstances, however, tend to shew that his grandfather was a certain John Juxon, of London. His will here following throws some light upon his family (see Marah's *Memoirs of Archbishop Juxon*, 1869).

ARCHBISHOP JUXON'S WILL.

as extracted from the Register of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Dated 20th Sept. 1662, and published 14th May, 1663.

In Dei Nomine. Amen. I, William Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury, being weak in body, but of good memory and understanding (I praise God for it), do make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner and form following, revoking all former wills whatsoever. And first, I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, my Creator, Father of mercies, and God of all comfort, trusting by the merits and meditation of His dear son Jesus Christ, our blessed Lord and Saviour, to obtain remission of my sins and all other benefits of His passion. My body I commit to the earth, to be decently buried without pomp. My worldly goods I thus dispose :—I give unto the poor of the parish of St. Peter the Great, alias the Sub-Deanery, in the City of Chichester, £100. To the poor of St. Giles, in the suburbs of the City of Oxford, £100. To the poor of Somerton, County Oxford, £50. To the poor of Little Compton, County Gloucester, £100. To the poor of Lemington, in the same county, £100. To the poor of Todenham, in the same county, £50. To the poor of Lambeth and Croydon, in the County of Surrey, I give each £100. To my sister, Ann Swayne, I give £1000. To my nephews, Richard Swayne and Lawrence Swayne, I give to each of them £500. To my nieces, Elizabeth Merlott and Frances Fisher, to each of them I give £500. To my cousin, Dr. Robert Pory, I give £300. To his children, Elizabeth Pory, Thomas Pory, Helen Pory, Mary Pory, and Robert Pory, to each of them I give £200. To my cousin, John Pory, I give £500. To each of his children, £200. To my cousin, Henry Fisher, I give £300. To my cousin, John Meeres, of Petersfield, I give £100. To my cousin, Thomas Juxon, of Mortlake, I give £200. To my cousin, John Palmer, merchant, I give £50. To his sister, ——— Palmer, of Chichester, I give £50. To Doctor Braburne, my Chaplain, I give £10 to buy a ring. To Sir Philip Warwick, I give my silver standish with the watch and counters. To Doctor Bayley, Dean of ———, I give £20 to buy

him a ring. To the president and scholars of St. John's College, Oxford, I give £7000 to be disposed of for the increase of the yearly stipends of the fellows and scholars of that College, by purchase of lands for that purpose, whereof the fellows and scholars to have equal shares. To the repair of the church of St. Paul's, if it proceed, I give £2000. To my menial servants which shall be in my house at the time of my death, I give £1200, to be distributed to them as my executor and overseer herein named shall think meet, with regard had to the quality of their places and time of their abode with me. To my reverend brother Gilbert, Lord Bishop of London [Bishop Shildon], I give my Barge, with the furniture thereto belonging. All the rest of my goods, cattels, and chattels whatsoever, my debts first paid and my funeral expenses discharged, I give to my nephew, Sir William Juxon, whom I make sole executor of this my last will, and do entrust my good friend, Sir Philip Warwicke, overseer of this my Will, and do give to each of them, for their pains herein to be taken, £100. My desire and will is, if I happen to die before the hall at Lambeth be finished, that my executor be at the charge of finishing it according to the modell made of it, if my successor shall give leave. In witness whereof I have written this with my own hand, and thereunto set my sign and seal this twentieth day of September, 1662.

W. Cant.

Declared to be my last will and testament this 14th May, 1663, in the presence of us
Richard Manning
Paul Widdopp
Robert Carllis

Codicil to be annexed. I give to the Cathedral Church of Canterbury £500, to be disposed of as the now present dean, Doctor Turnor, shall think fit. I give to Mr. George Juxon, of Canterbury, £100. I give to Doctor Turnor, Dean of Canterbury, £20 to buy him a ring. I give to each of my poor kindred as are not mentioned in my will the sum of £500, to be distributed among them as my executor and overseer shall find cause. I give to Mr. Daniel Nicholl to buy a ring, £10. I give to Richard Barnes, £20.

W. Cant.

I give to my nephews and nieces, to every of them, £100.

W. Cant.

Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum cum codicillo eidem annexo apud London coram venerabili viro Domino Willielmo Merrick, Milite, Legum Doctore, quarto die mensis Julij, Anno Dom. 1663.

From Little Compton the party proceeded to

CHASTLETON CHURCH AND MANOR HOUSE.

The Vicar said the church, which is dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, is replete with interest, dating back, as it does, nearly eight centuries, and is associated with many distinguished names in Oxfordshire history. Robert D'Oiley, nephew of the Robert mentioned in Doomsday—and from both of whose two sons he claimed descent in the female line—gave that church of Cesterton Henmershe to the Abbey of Osney, in 1130, to which period the north door belonged. It is a matter, he said, in which he is considerably interested, because, he said, he is descended in the male line from the first Saxon Earl of Mercia, Leo. In 1190 the western portion of the south arcade was built, being in the Transitional Norman style. There was a re-dedication in the time of Bardolf de Cesterton, from whom the village derived its name of Cesterton Bardolf. In the next century his grandson, Bardolf, added the early English portion of the south arcade and the chancel arch. The small north chantry,[1] judging from the former east window, was built at that time. In 1336 the south chantry was endowed by Sir John Trillow, Knt., then Lord of the Manor—for the souls of John Trillow, a clerk, his uncle, Isabel his mother, Isabel his wife, and Roger Beaufoy, which was confirmed by the Bishop of Lincoln on 13th Sept. in the following year. The Trillows were succeeded by the families of Wilcotes, Bishopdene, and Catesby—the latter family holding the manor for several generations until the time of Robert Catesby, the conspirator, whose infant son was buried in the church. In the churchyard was an ancient stone with a crown [? cross] upon it, but no inscription.[2] It was found about 3 feet below the surface of the ground when the vestry was built a few years ago. There was also a calvary—socket and shaft—both of which were old. The chancel and tower were comparatively modern—the latter having been destroyed by lightning and rebuilt in 1689.

The following is gathered from the original record :—

[2] [After an Inq. ad quod damnum, 8th Edward III., Robert de Trillowe obtained licence to give certain messuages and lands, which he held of Hugh de Plessetes in Chastelton, for the support of a priest to celebrate Divine Service daily in the Church of the Blessed Mary of Chastelton for the benefit of his soul, and of the souls of John de Trillow, Roger de Bella Fago (Beaufoy) Knt., and for the souls of his (Robert's) ancestors, Isabella his wife, and Isabella his mother ; and of all benefactors and all the faithful departed, and for the increase of Divine worship. And this charter was confirmed to Sir Thomas Finoble, the chaplain, and to his successors in honour of the Blessed Virgin in the Parish Church of Chastelton ; the said chaplain to pray for the health and good estate of the said Robert whilst he lives, and for his soul after his departure. The chantry was ordained by Robert Trillowe on Saturday before the feast of St. Mark, 10th Edward III., 21st April, 1336, and confirmed by the Bishop of Lincoln on the Ides of Sept. 1337, Chastleton being then within that diocese.]—ED.

Miss Whitmore Jones then exhibited various objects of interest in the church, among them some 12th cent. tiles, and an old prayer book illustrated

1 There is a very common confusion here between a chapel and a chantry. A chantry was not a structure but a service.—ED.

2 Inscriptions were never used at this early date.

with old Dutch prints representing the eye of God looking down upon Guy Fawkes in the cellars of parliament house and the execution of the King, in which, according to the print, a stool was used. From the church the visitors proceeded to the old manor house of Chastleton, so rich in the recollections of the reigns of the Stuarts, recalling every period in the history of those unfortunate Kings. The residence of Catesby, the conspirator, who would have ended, if his designs had succeeded, the career of the first English King of that line, it was later on occupied by loyal adherents of Charles I. and II., and was eventually a great Jacobite stronghold, its owners striving for the restoration to the crown of the descendants of that king whom their predecessor would have destroyed. For seven generations the house has been occupied by the Jones family, and their descendant, Miss Whitmore Jones, the present owner, takes the greatest interest in it, and is remarkably well versed, in the history of the historical house which has descended to her, and the records of those disturbed periods in which its inhabitants played so prominent a part.

Inside, the house, besides being a beautiful example of an English country home, is literary a museum of Stuart relics. By the kindness of Mrs. Condell, the present occupier, Miss Whitmore Jones showed the visitors over the old house, and exhibited and explained to them many of her historical treasures. Amongst these were the old Bible, an almost complete and the most perfect existing set of Jacobite glass, with the rose and the thorn, the star and the compass, and the word "fiat," made for the Gloucestershire Jacobite Club, of which Henry Jones, of Chastleton House, was a member. There was a deed signed by Catesby in 1601 relating to the sale of the house, old tapestries, furniture, and garments, wonderful old lace and ancient pictures, and a much prized miniature of the martyr King. The little picture is accompanied by a series of painted transparencies which, applied to the miniature, illustrate the whole history of the unhappy King and his misfortunes, from the first where he is represented in full possession of the crown and sceptre to the last in which his head is being held up triumphantly by the executioner. Four pictures like this were painted at the Restoration, and the three others are carefully preserved in different parts of the country. The members ascended the tower, saw other objects of interest in the great hall, and after expressing their thanks to Mrs. Condell and Miss Whitmore-Jones, took their departure for

ADLESTROP,

where the ancient camp was visited and explained by Miss Whitmore-Jones, who pointed out that it was square in plan, but rounded at the corners, and had two entrances. The camp was a Roman one, being close to two Roman roads, Acemen Street and another, though it was doubtful whether it had not previously been occupied by the Britons. A party of archæologists came to excavate here some time ago, and came upon bones at the cooking place. The embankment, which has not been interfered with, was found to be of rough masonry below the earth which covered it. This Society visited the camp in 1873, when some remarks were made upon it by Rev. D. Royce, and after a discussion the party came to the conclusion that the structure was originally a British circular camp, but that it has been considerably altered by Roman and other occupants (Trans., Vol. VII., 21).

With the obliging permission of Miss Whitmore-Jones this Society visited the Manor House and Church of Chastleton in 1875. The Rev. D. Royce read in the hall a Paper shewing the devolution of the manor, but Chastleton being beyond the sphere of the Society's labours, a very brief abstract only is recorded in our Transactions, see Vol. VII. p. 21 :—

It appears that Robert Catesby for the purpose of carrying out his diabolical designs borrowed sums of money from Walter Jones, of Lincoln's Inn, amounting in the whole to £6000, and the 25th June, 44 Eliz. (1602), the Manor of Chastleton was conveyed to the said Walter Jones and Henry Jones, his son.

Walter Jones was the builder of the present Manor House in 1632, so it can scarcely be said to be an Elizabethan house.

In 1609 Walter Jones obtained the Royal licence to alienate a moiety to certain persons, one of whom was Sir Edmund Fetttiplace, to hold to the use of the aforesaid trustees until the marriage of the said Henry Jones and Anne Fettiplace, then to the use of the said Henry and Anne and their heirs, so that the estate became divided into moieties until 1789, when the outlying portions were purchased by John Jones, Esq., ancestor of the present proprietor.

The party then visited the camp, which the Rev. G. Sneyd thought was certainly British, as it was so near to the ancient British road leading to the Rollright Stones. Leaving the camp, a few minutes' walk brought them to the summer-house at Adlestrop Hill, where, by the kind permission of Lord Leigh, luncheon was spread. Shortly after two o'clock the brakes were again mounted, and the party proceeded to the

ROLLRIGHT STONES

Here the party was met by Mr. Freeman-Mitford, Lady Clementina Mitford, and the Misses Mitford, and by

Mr. A. J. Evans, F.S.A., Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, who gave an interesting Address on the subject of the Stones. He said he proposed to give a few general remarks that day on the class of monument to which the stones belonged, and if anyone cared to listen he would, with the aid of plans, give a more detailed account when the Society visited the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford on Friday. Rollright, after all, was an extremely insignificant monument of its class, and would be disappointing to those who had seen Stonehenge or the monuments of Brittany. They would wonder that such small stones as were used at Rollright should have been preserved so long *in situ ;* but they must remember that that spot was, till the beginning of the century, part of a wild heath country, and was contiguous to a great forest, so that there were few inhabitants and little cultivation. Happily during the last few years the owner of the stones, availing himself of the Monument Act, had enclosed those stones and the "Whispering Knights." Some years ago the whole site was planted with trees, which had destroyed any but fragmentary records of the old interments that probably existed within the circle. These stones were connected

with a group of monuments extending over the whole of that district, and had special connection with the long mound or barrow on the other side of the road. Coming from Chastleton that day he had observed for the first time at intervals along the road, probably a British trackway, leading up from Chastleton. Some very ancient blocks of about the same period as those of Rollright, shewing that some kind of avenue probably existed along the roadside, and remains of the same kind might be traced in the other direction. Here and there on the ground at the side of the road were some larger blocks, and at one point he observed what appeared to be the remains of a small round dolmen with four or five stones, indicating the existence of some rude kind of circle. As to the class of monuments to which Rollright belonged, it was formerly sufficient to say that a monument of that kind was built by the Druids, and to trace a connection between it and some kind of solar worship. Very accurate astronomical observations would be made with regard to some of the blocks, and elaborate theories would be turned out. He thought, however, that anyone who looked at the irregular character of the blocks and their distribution—there was no real centre to the circle at all—would see that those who erected those stones did not do so with the aid of measuring rod, nor did they set up the stones at regular intervals. The diameter of the circle was about 100 feet, and that measurement was interesting because it connected the circle with a large class of circles of the same kind of about the same approximate diameter, and with a class of monument often found to contain sepulchral remains. In the present day, to understand the meaning of those stones, it was necessary to take a wider survey, and have regard to monuments of the same kind, existing not only in the same county or country, but in various parts of Europe and, indeed, the most distant quarters of the globe. In modern India they had examples of the same rude kind of architecture that existed in Britain in pre-historic times, which were still being executed by some of the barbarous hill tribes, and they could see the way in which those huge blocks were built up, one over the other, and could trace the ideas which underlay that kind of monument. They might wonder, for instance, how the great cap-stone in the dolmen below was originally set up. It had now fallen down, though it was in the right position in Elizabeth's reign. Among the Himilayan tribes great dolmens were set up at the present day, and in the way they set them up they might find the key to the method in which they were set up by the ancient Britons. The stones were broken from the rock by placing firewood along a certain line, great fragments of rock being thus cracked off. By the aid of ropes and rollers they were then dragged to their positions and tilted over into sockets already prepared. The uprights being thus set in their places, the cap-stones were fitted on to them by building up a hard earthen slope to the level of their upper surface, and then, by the aid of ropes and levers, the cap-stone was rolled up the slope till it rested on

the uprights, and the earth around was then removed. They found that Indian tribes erected these circles,—the size of which, so far as the blocks went, might compare with Stonehenge—in memory of departed spirits, and in some cases the great circles were not erected all at once. There was one interesting case in which the stones were said to be erected to an old woman who had recently died, and whose spirit was supposed to be the cause of a large harvest which came after her death. In various years afterwards there were doubts as to the harvest prospects, and more stones were set up to the spirit of the old woman in the hope that she would again bring a good harvest. In this connection it was noteworthy that at Stonehenge and at Rollright the stones were set in groups. There were other forms in which this particular cult was connected with those great stone monuments. The idea of setting up an inner stone circle and avenue arose in the earliest days of the Neolithic occupation of Britain. "Long Barrows" belonging to this period were to be seen—especially in the South of England and Gloucestershire—with a large stone chamber and a circle of stones around the edges of the mound, and fitted on to a wide spread set of barrows in North and Western Europe. Some of these stone barrows were exactly analogous to the existing huts of the Esquimaux and the people of the extreme North. That was to say the primitive huts of the living as still found in Northern Europe were reproduced and perpetuated in the houses of the dead, and the entrance gallery which was usually found to these huts was represented by the stone avenue. Mr. Evans then told the old legend of the stones, which was to the effect that a king was going up the hill at that place with the object of conquering all England, when he met with a witch who said, "If Long Compton you shall see, King of England you shall be." He reached the top of the hill from which Long Compton could usually be seen, but the witch caused a mound to rise up and obstruct the view. The King was turned into the "King's stone," and the stones known as the "Whispering Knights" were said to have been traitors plotting against the King, who were also turned into stone. An old elder tree used to stand among the stones, and was called "the witch." When cut down it was said to bleed. A whole cycle of folk-lore clustered round these stones, and it was a remarkable fact that many of the stories recurred in an almost identical form in Brittany. The fact that on that spot there was such continuity of tradition analogous to that prevailing through a large Celtic tract, and which must have been handed down from father to son, tended to shew that there was still Celtic blood in the inhabitants of that part of the country.

On the conclusion of Mr. Evans' address the party proceeded to the Church of Chipping Norton, where, in the unavoidable absence of the Vicar, the members were received by the Churchwardens. The Rev. W. Bazeley read some notes on the Connection between the Church of Chipping Norton, the Abbey, and the Cathedral of St. Peter's, of Gloucester, and Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College, Oxford. It is hoped that these notes will be

amplified and printed hereafter in the Transactions. Those members who desired to return to Moreton now proceeded thither by the return brakes and others went to Oxford.

PROCEEDINGS AT OXFORD.

On Thursday, July 16th, at 11 a.m., after the conclusion of Morning Prayer at Magdalen Chapel, the Members of the Society were received by the President of Magdalen, Mr. T. H. Warren, M.A., who had most courteously came up to Oxford for that purpose.

The President gave a most interesting account of the rise and growth of the College, and pointed out the objects of special interest :—

The Chapel was built A.D. 1474-1480 by William of Waynflete, whose effigy appears over the west window, together with the effigies of St. John the Baptist, Edward IV., St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Swithin. In the angle of the great quadrangle is a curious pulpit of stone, from which sermons were preached on St. John the Baptist's Day, until John Wesley's mission work made open-air preaching unfashionable. In the small chapel on the north side of the altar lies the tomb of the founder's father, Richard Patton, with the head of the recumbent figure supported by the hands of his two sons. This tomb was brought from the church of All Saints at Waynflete.

In the hall of the College are portraits of former members and benefactors—William of Weynflete, Cardinals Pole and Wolsey, Prince Henry (son of James I.), Prince Rupert, Addison, Dr. Sacheverell, Dean Colet, &c., &c.

The President referred to the custom still observed of the Choristers assembling at 5 o'clock in the morning on May Day (the feast of St. Philip and St. James) on the top of the Tower and singing the following Hymn :—

Te Deum Patrem colimus,
Te laudibus prosequimur :
Qui corpus cibo reficis
Cœlesti mentem gratiâ.

Te adoramus, oh Jesu,
Te Fili unigenite,
Te qui non dedignatus es
Subire claustra virginis.

Actus in crucem, factus es
Irato Deo, Victima :
Per te, Salvator unice,
Vitæ spes nobis rediit.

Tibi, Æterne Spiritus,
Cujus afflatu peperit
Infantem Deum Maria,
Æternum benedicimus.

Triune Deus, hominum
Salutis auctor optime,
Immensum hoc mysterium
Ovante linguâ canimus.[1]

1 Privately printed by John Bloxam, D.D., of Magdalen Coll., Oxford, before 1848.

The President said this custom originated after the death of Henry VII., and grew out of a requiem mass said annually on St. John's day for the repose of that King's soul. He added that it was a mistake to suppose that the expenses on the occasion were met by a charge on the endowment of Slimbridge Church. But, query, see Carter's History of Slymbridge, p. 19, 1845.

After a vote of thanks had been unanimously given to the President for his courteous reception and most interesting address the members proceeded to Merton by Rose Lane, and entered the College by the garden gate. Here they were received by Canon Freeling, who has since, to the great grief of his many friends, fallen a victim to Influenza. Canon Freeling claimed for Merton College a priority in respect to its foundation over all other collegiate establishments at the two great Universities. The date of the first charter is 1264, and the choir of the chapel dates from 1277. The transepts were commenced in 1330. The date of the beautiful glass in the choir windows, the gift of Henry de Mannesfield, then a Fellow of the College and afterwards Dean of Lincoln, is fortunately known as 1283. The Treasury, or Archive room, with its high pitched ashlar roof of the 13th century, and the Library, founded and built at the close of the 17th century, are especially interesting. The College is enclosed on the side by the ancient walls of the city, the garden occupying the S.E. angle of the original fortifications.

After lunch the members met at the Bodleian Library, and examined many of its priceless treasures, under the most able guidance of Mr. F. Madan, M.A., Assistant Librarian. Mr. Madan is a son of the late Canon Madan, Rector of Dursley. We regret that we are unable to give a summary of his interesting address on the foundation, growth and present condition of this great Library.

From the Bodleian the members crossed over to the Radcliffe, from the roof of which they enjoyed the splendid view of the city with its almost countless churches and colleges. Mr. James Parker, M.A., F.S.A., acted as cicerone and described the buildings in succession.

At 4 p.m. the members were most courteously received at Christ Church by Canon Bright, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, who led them into the Cathedral, and told them its history. This noble church was originally the Chapel of St. Frideswide's Priory, the western end of which, and the whole western side of the cloister, were destroyed by Cardinal Wolsey when he founded Christ Church College. The part which remains is certainly as old as the 12th century, and much of the sculptured foliage has Saxon characteristics, from which we may infer that pre-Norman work still exists. Mr. J. Parker again acted as guide, and with the help of excellent plans explained the architectural mysteries of the church.

After a visit to the Great Hall, with its 17th century staircase and splendid collection of portraits, the members proceeded to All Souls College, where they were received by one of the Fellows, Mr. C. W. C. Oman, M.A., who gave a graphic sketch of the history of the College. Under his guidance the Chapel, with its reredos, restored by the late Lord Bathurst, and the Library, the finest private one in Oxford. The Hall and the old Library, with its curious ceiling of the date of Queen Elizabeth's reign, were visited

in succession. Mr. Oman very courteously entertained the members at afternoon tea.

In the evening the members assembled in the Hall of Brasenose College, where they were hospitably received by Mr. F. Madan, one of the Fellows, and they listened with the greatest pleasure and interest to a lecture by that gentleman on the history of the City and University of Oxford.

FRIDAY, 17th July.

The concluding Meeting of the Society was held at the Clarendon Hotel, Oxford, at 9.30 a.m. In the absence of the President, Mr. William Leigh, *Vice-President*, occupied the chair. The following Resolutions were proposed by the Chairman and unanimously carried :—

That the next Annual Summer Meeting of the Society be held at Cirencester, and that the selection of the President be left to the Council.

That the thanks of the Society be given to :—

1. The Chairman and Local Committee at Moreton-in-Marsh, to the Rev. J. Spencer Jones, Local Secretary at Moreton, and to Mr. F. Madan, and Mr. C. W. Oman, Local Secretaries at Oxford, for the very able assistance they have rendered to the General Secretary in making and carrying out the arrangements for the Meeting.
2. To the Rector of Bourton-on-the-Hill, the Vicar of Blockley, the Vicar of Little Compton, the Vicar of Chastleton, and the Vicar of Chipping Norton for their reception of the Members at their respective Churches, and for the information they have afforded concerning them.
3. To Lady Northwick and to Mrs. Condell for the permission granted by them to the Society to visit Northwick House, with its magnificent Picture Gallery, and Chastleton House respectively.
4. To Lady Northwick, Mrs. Condell, the President of Magdalen, the Rev. Canon Bright, Mr. C. W. C. Oman, Mr. F. Madan, the Rev. C. H. O. Daniel, and Mr. A. H. Evans, for their courteous reception of the members at Northwick Park, Chastleton House, at Magdalen, Merton, Christ Church, All Souls, Brasenose, and Worcester Colleges, at the Bodleian, and at the Radcliffe Libraries, and Ashmole Museum repectively.
5. To Lady Northwick, the President of the Society and Lady Clementina Mitford, Major and Mrs. Wilkins, Mr. C. W. C. Oman, and to Mr. and Mrs. F. Madan, for their generous hospitality at Northwick Park, Batsford Park, Chipping Norton, All Souls College and Brasenose College respectively.
6. To Mr. C. Belcher, the Rev. D. Royce, Mr. F. A. Hyett, the Rev. J. H. Killick, the President of Magdalen, Canon Freeling, Canon Bright, Mr. J. Parker, Mr. C. W. C. Oman, Mr. F. Madan, the Rev. C. H. O. Daniel, and the General Secretary for the very interesting Papers they have prepared and read, or for the very able addresses they have delivered at Moreton-in-Marsh, the Rollright Stones, Chipping Norton, and at Oxford.
7. To Miss Whitmore-Jones for her great kindness in showing and explaining to the Members the many objects of historical interest at Chastleton.

8. To the Trustees of the Redesdale Memorial Hall for their kind permission to hold the Society's Meeting in that commodious and beautiful edifice. And

9. To Mr. Freeman-Mitford for his excellent Presidential Address.

A vote of thanks was then unanimously given to Mr. W. Leigh for so kindly accepting the leadership of the Society during the President's absence.

The Members then visited Worcester College, where they were received by the Rev. C. H. O. Daniel, M.A., who read a Paper on the *History of the College, referring to its foundation as Gloucester Hall by Sir John Gifford,* A.D. 1283, *and its connection with the Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester, and other Benedictine Monasteries,* which will be printed *in extenso* post.

At the conclusion of Mr. Daniel's very interesting and instructing Paper, a vote of thanks to him was proposed by Mr. W. Leigh, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, and was carried by acclamation.

The members then proceeded to inspect the College Chapel under the guidance of Mr. Daniel. The decorations of the roof, pavement, walls and windows are intended to represent the adoration of the Supreme Being by Man in the *Te Deum*, and by Nature in the *Benedicite*, and were executed by Mr. W. Burges in 1864. There is nothing of Archæological interest here. The Hall contains portraits of Sir Thomas Cooke the refounder of the College at the commencement of the 18th century, by *Kneller*; and other ladies and gentlemen connected with the College. There is also a Magdalen after *Guido*, and a Fish Picture by *Snyders*. The Library contains some architectural works by *Inigo Jones*, and some good pictures bequeathed by Nash, the Historian of Worcestershire, a member of this College.

The party then visited the Gardens; and the General Secretary pointed out on a doorway of the old buildings on the south side of the College a rebus of W. Compton, similar to that which may be seen in the E. window of the Lady Chapel of Gloucester Cathedral—the letter "W" with a comb and a tun surmounted by a mitre. Mr. Bazeley said that there was no Abbot of Gloucester of the name of Compton, but W. Compton was appointed Chief Steward of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, in 1512. Side by side with this device there is another of three cups, which may be assigned to Richard Boteler, or Butler, Abbot of Gloucester, and afterwards Bishop of Hereford, and Ambassador to Rome for Henry VI. The same device, and the heraldic bearings of various members of his family may be seen in the chapel that he adorned, the north chapel of the Ambulatory of Gloucester Cathedral.

The Ashmolean Museum was next visited, the Members being received by Mr. A. J. Evans, M.A., F.S.A., the Keeper of the Museum. Mr. Evans escorted the party round the building, pointing out the principal objects of interest. Among these may be mentioned the jewel which adorned the front of King Alfred's crown (? the top of King Alfred's staff). The lower end is in the shape of a boar's head, and the sloping sides have an inscription in Anglo-Saxon, the translation of which is: "Alfred me ordered to be worked." It was ploughed up at Athelney, where Alfred took refuge during the Danish troubles. Another object of interest is a pair of white gloves

with ornamental cuffs, presented to Queen Elizabeth on her visit to the University in 1566 ; a splendid wax bust of King James II. (contemporary work) presented to the Museum by the Rev. John Rigaud, of Magdalen College, and formerly in the possession of Dr. Routh, of that College ; and the sword given to Henry VIII. by Pope Leo X., with the title of "Defender of the Faith." This sword was a principal object in Ashmole's collection, when the Museum was opened in Oxford in 1633. The lantern used by Guy Fawkes on the memorable 5th of November, and a *fac-simile* of the letter addressed to Lord Montague disclosing the diabolical plot (the original of which is in the State Paper Office) were the objects of much attention. The steel band which confined Cranmer to the stake, the hat which Bradshaw wore when he signed the death warrant of Charles I., a piece of an oak post found under the stone cross in Broad Street, which marks the spot where Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley suffered, Henry VI.'s iron cradle, shoes of the time of Charles II., Henry VIII.'s stirrup irons, and many other relics of that monarch, with the copper lantern which Holman Hunt took as his model in his famous painting, "The Light of the World," where among the many objects of interest which were inspected with keen curiosity. There is one exhibit just inside the entrance to the Museum which also deserves a passing notice. It is a model of a British Village of some very remote period, before Cæsar came, saw, and conquered this country. It represents a bed of gravel into which pits have been sunk, which were probably thatched or covered in some way ; the original was discovered at Standlake, Oxfordshire, in 1857, some of the pits containing urns in which reposed the burnt bones of the former inhabitants. Mr. Evans also pointed out the British, Roman and Saxon antiquities found at Kingsholm, Cirencester, and Fairford, and the Odda stone from Deerhurst.

On Saturday there was was no organised programme, the movements of the Members being left to their own discretion. A good many Members took advantage of the opportunity of visiting places of interest not previously inspected, taking their leave of the City in the afternoon, well pleased with their visit.

Annual Account to follow later.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

THE new PRESIDENT, who was heartily applauded on taking the chair, said: Let me thank you, Sir, very sincerely for the more than kind way in which you have introduced me to the Society. I can assure you that I feel very deeply how impossible it is for me to fill worthily the place of a gentleman who is one of those who has made the science, which it is the joy of this Society to honour, so specially his own.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is frequently a matter of reproach to us Englishmen that we are in the habit of spending any amount of time and money in visiting the beautiful and curious monuments which lie outside our country, whilst we too often neglect equally interesting features which lie at our own doors. If this were a true bill, I think it would be a great national disgrace, for where can we find a country in which there is a more varied or a more productive field for investigation by the curious and ingenious than is to be found in this old country of ours? There is no branch of science and no branch of knowledge in which we cannot shew as great and as honourable a record as any country in the world. If natural science be the subject of our investigations, we have in the geology of England what has been called the geologist's paradise. With almost every European formation and record of those of Asia and America represented, we have here an epitome of the whole work of creation which we can trace through all its stages back to those igneous rocks, and to that mysterious Laurentian formation which has been found in America, and which takes its name from the great St. Lawrence, which is lost in the Atlantic, but found again at Cape Wrath. If again we care to investigate the beauties of botany, we have not only a very rich flora of our own, a wealth of exceptional beauty, but such is the reproductive nature of our soil, and such is the bountiful character of our much-abused climate, that there is hardly any quarter—hardly any part of any quarter—of the known world which has

not enriched our parks and gardens. Here, in this cold and often ungenial climate we can see the great conifers of the North American Continent, we can see some of the Mexican pines, we can see the gum trees of Australia, we can see the bamboos of China, and we can see the Alpine flora of Europe, side by side with the lovely bulbs of the Cape of Good Hope. There is no specimen, no type of vegetation almost that is not here represented. Again, if you care not so much for the works of nature as for those of art, we have museums and galleries in which are gathered together the master-pieces of the world. And indeed we have no reason to feel ashamed of the great works which our own artists have added to those collections. We may not be able to boast of the Titanic conceptions of a Michael Angelo nor the inspired sacred pictures of a Raphael; but in landscape and portraiture we certainly are second to none, whilst in the school of satirical painting we certainly stand unrivalled by the great gifts of him who was once a humble apprentice to a silversmith's engraver—William Hogarth —whose work has never, in that particular line, been excelled by any other artist of any other country. In architecture it is the same. If we look at the architecture of our own country from the day when William the Conqueror called over the Weeping Monk, Gundulf, from Bec, in Normandy, to erect fortresses for his military purposes down to the present day it is the same. From the days when the Weeping Monk erected the Tower of London and built Rochester Castle, we can trace through a whole series of monkish works a school of architecture which could hardly be surpassed in the world. We can boast of that still mysterious John of Padua, whom Canon Jackson, a man of learning, whose loss the neighbouring county of Wiltshire still deplores, identified with plain John Smith. We have still his great works, which are the admiration of all those who study this art. Then follow Inigo Jones, Christopher Wren and Chambers; so that in architecture also we are *nulli secundus*. But perhaps you will say those subjects are outside the province of your Society. You are an Archæological Society above all things. But even in Archæology I venture to think that these islands offer a rich field for research. We have such monuments as Stonehenge and the Rollright Stones,

which you are going to visit to-morrow, where there are traces of the earliest architectural achievements of mankind, and you have traces of their handiwork in their ancient weapons and utensils. You can even find in places the very workshops in which they worked, for you can see alongside the arrow-heads and other weapons pieces of flint chippings, which must have been brought many hundreds of miles from where they were found. There are few countries in which the power of research has been exercised with greater benefit than it has in England, and I know of no country where you can see such faithful, laborious, and accurate records of the past as you find here. It has given rise to a whole literature—it has given rise to those county histories which are monuments of learning and of patient investigation, and which are daily becoming more and more appreciated, not only here, but even across the Atlantic, where one of the first desires of an American cousin is to have in his library a copy of the history of the county to which he traces the origin of his family. That literature alone is enough to obliterate for ever the charge brought against Englishmen of being indifferent to the beauties and curiosities of their own country. But there is a second class of institution which entirely frees us from that charge of indifference, and this is the Archæological Societies which exist in the various counties and districts in England. There you have a number of men of great learning and accurate information who pass their lives in exploring and investigating those very secrets which lie nearest our own doors, and it is to their learning and diligence that we owe the clearing up of many mysteries and the lifting of many veils. It is one of these Societies I am very humbly addressing to-day. I don't propose to detain you longer.

We are delighted to welcome you to our poor county. I believe it is the first time you have visited this part of the county. You will find in it many objects of interest, and of the greatest beauty, for no part of the Cotswold Hills is more beautiful than that which lies around Moreton-in-Marsh. To-day you will visit Bourton-on-the-Hill. Bourton is the most beautiful little village, full of traces of ancient masonry. It is known to have

been the birthplace of Sir Thomas Overbury. It contains a church, the beauties of which will be adequately explained by the Rector. From Bourton you will go to Northwick Park, and you must not forget the ancient Bourton quarries, made famous by every book on geology. There can be read a page of the world's history beside which the famous graven Mammoth Tusk of the Cave of Dordogne, the oldest work of human art in the world, seems but a thing of yesterday. At Northwick you will inspect a collection of pictures which has gained a great name. You will find a most beautiful park, and you will receive a most hearty welcome from a most kindly hostess. Then passing my home you will return to Moreton. To-morrow you will have even a richer treat. You are going to Chastleton, with its Jacobean house of great interest, built as it was shortly after the Gunpowder Plot. You will also visit Little Compton and the Rollright Stones, and at the Rollright Stones you will hear delivered an explanatory lecture by a gentleman of European fame, who will explain the mysteries of that extraordinary monument. I only hope that gentleman will be a little more merciful, and not altogether disestablish Mother Shipton, the Whispering Knights, and the King. From the Rollright Stones you will visit Chipping Norton, and the next day takes you to the neighbouring county and the great University of Oxford. Upon that subject you will not expect me to speak to you. I again thank you for coming here, and I hope you will enjoy the Meeting, and that the learning and knowledge of the Society will result in a great advantage to us all. There is a one solid advantage which might possibly accrue from the visit. There is an old adage to "give a dog a bad name" is as bad a service as can be done to him. We in Moreton have had a very bad name given us. We have been called Moreton-in-Marsh, but the Great Western Railway Company has accentuated that bad name by the final and crushing insult of the definite article. They call us Moreton-in-*the*-Marsh. Now, gentlemen, there is no marsh at all; if there is I have never seen it, and I have known the country almost all my life. The truth of the matter is we are Moreton-Hen-Marsh, that is to say "Moreton old Boundary." You will see when you come to visit the Four

Shires Stones which commemorates the great battles between the Danes and the Saxons, that the real meaning is that we are actually on the borders of four counties. I hope that the Society, in consideration of the hospitality which the Moreton people has shewn them, will try and get the name restored to us. I have one more word to say to you. If there be any here who thinks he is too old to learn, let him remember an incident in Cardinal Gonsalvi's life. One bitter winter's day, when the snow was falling fast, he was driving into Rome, and struggling through the storm he saw an old and decrepit figure making its way towards the Coliseum. Stopping his carriage, he asked the man whither he was going. "I am going to school to try and learn something" was the answer. The name of that man was Michael Angelo Burnarotti: for fifty years as painter, sculptor, architect, engineer and poet, he had been the wonder and the glory of the age in which he lived. But he was not too old to go to school once more and learn. And for his school he chose the same subject-matter you have chosen—he went to the great works of those who had gone on before him.

THE HISTORY OF MORETON-IN-MARSH.[1]

BY ERNEST BELCHER.

LIKE most of the towns in the north of Gloucestershire, Moreton has been very inadequately treated by the county historians, and this is all the more a matter for regret since the local records of its history are so scanty as almost to amount to a negative quantity, and thus everything approaching a full and complete account of the town is rendered not only extremely difficult, but also practically impossible; at the same time the fragmentary records which have been discovered from time to time possess so much interest as to entitle the little Cotteswold town to a fair share of our attention.

Moreton lies in the valley of the Evenlode, and is sheltered by the last ridges of the Cotteswold Hills. Two important roads run through the town; the more ancient one is the old Roman Fosse-way from Cirencester (Cyrenceaster) northwards, and the later one is the main road from Oxford to Worcester. Although not in Moreton itself, yet in the hamlet of Dorn, some two miles off, very extensive Roman remains have been found, and this coupled with the fact that coins (chiefly of the reign of Maximilian) are constantly turned up on either side of the fosse-way, suggests the existence of a Roman station in the neighbourhood.

Between Moreton and Blockley may be seen a rectangular embankment and foss. This seems to have entirely escaped the notice of local antiquaries, and yet, although much defaced by the plough, and partly hidden by a wood, it is evident that, if not a camp, it is at all events the remains of a fortified post of observation; whether of Roman times is not quite so certain.

[1] By the kindness of the Editor I have been enabled to very thoroughly revise this Paper, and several important additions have been made to it as read at the Meeting in July.

About the time of the Saxon invasion Moreton was very nearly the boundary between the British tribes, the Dobuni and the Carnabii. Both these tribes' lands were of much more considerable extent than is usually supposed. The Carnabii stretched as far as Shropshire, and the Dobuni held sway to the borders of Wilts. The latter, who derived their name from the British *Dwfn* low, near, always were found on marshy ground, and this is some argument for those who would still support the marsh theory as regards the name of the above town.

Doubtless, in the course of their wanderings the new invaders reached this portion of the country, and first gave the present name, or rather part of the present name, to the town. The meaning of Moreton presents, of course, absolutely no difficulty to any one; probably no suffix in the English language is more common as a place name than the particle *ton* or *tun*. It is a Saxon word meaning an enclosure, or, in its older German form (ein zaun) a hedge, and thus it will be readily noticed that Moreton signifies "the town on the moor." It might be added that *ton* is especially common in this neighbourhood. The following are only a few instances in the immediate vicinity of Moreton. Aston (*i.e.* East town), Weston (*i.e.* West town), Norton (*i.e.* North town), Berrington (marking a burial-place), Lemington (a family name), Ebrington (Ethelburga's town), Mickelton (great town), &c., &c.

Originally, then, Moreton meant the 'ton' on the moor, and there is ample evidence to shew that this was by no means a misnomer. Not only do such names as Stow-on-the-Wold shew the nature of the district, but even at the present day a walk along the edge of the hills cannot but reveal its rugged and even wild aspect. But while the former portion of the name of the town has never caused discussion, the present termination *in marsh* or *in the marsh* has evoked endless criticism and doubt. Into the derivation of this suffix I do not propose to go. I have consulted endless authorities on the subject, from a Professor of Anglo-Saxon down to the oldest inhabitant in Moreton; I have referred to a perfect library of books, and received almost a shoal of

letters, and the result is that I find that no two persons can reach the same conclusion, and that there are far more explanations to the question than there are letters in the words. A list, however, of the various spellings, in chronological order, may assist those who feel inclined to pursue the subject further :—

Domesday Book . .	Mortune . . . . . (no suffix)
c. 13th century . .	Moreton or Morton Henmersche
1375	Moreton Hennemers
c. 14th century	Moreton or Morton Henmerse, or Enmerse (indifferently)
c. 15th century . „ „	Henmarsh, Enmarsh
1569-70. *Ped.* S. Trin. Term .	Morton en le Merche[1]
1570 (Communion Plate) .	Morton Hinmarsh, Hindmarsh
c. 17th century (Worcester Registry) .	Morton March
1650 (Chipping Campden Registers) .	Morton-in-the-Marsh
18th century (maps, &c.)	Moreton or Morton-in-Marsh, or in-the-[Marsh
19th century (Local) . .	Moreton-in-Marsh
19th century (Railway) . .	Moreton-in-the-Marsh Moreton-on-Marsh

I may add the following notes :—

(1) The Welsh word *hen* (old) existed only in the form *sen* until c. 1100.

(2) *Marsh* does not of necessity mean marsh in our modern sense, but might mean *moor*.

(3) In time of heavy rains Moreton gets easily flooded, and in digging graves water is soon reached, but at the same time the town lies high and is not unhealthy.

(4) *Marsh* is used in some other sense to our modern one in the following places in the neighbourhood of Moreton :—
Bickmarsh (near Honeybourne).
Barton-on-the-Heath (16th century).
Bourton-on-the-Hill (16th century), &c., &c.

Before the Conquest Moreton was part of the possessions of the Earls of Mercia. Curiously enough, the Rev. G. Sneyd, Rector of Chastleton (called Cestreton Henmersh in Domesday Book) at

[1] See Bourton-on-the-Hill, p. 3.

the present time, claims descent from these Earls. In the Domesday Survey Moreton appears under the lands of St. Peter of Westminster. It was in the Hundred of *Deerherst*, and could only have been a hamlet[1] since its extent was but half a hide. It was held by Elfrid (a Saxon thane), both at the Conquest and for some years subsequently. The town (or village as it was then) however seems to have given a name to the Norman Earl who possessed the neighbouring village of Longborough, and possibly part of the manor may have been included in the possession of Ansfried of Cormeiles who held *Beceshore* (Batsford). This Norman Earl belonged to a powerful local family, the only other interesting member of which was Lucian de Cormelies who was Rector of Blockley in 1270. The "Church of St. Peter" leased the land out to various owners for many centuries, and at the same time took much interest in the progress in the town, for in 1227 Moreton obtained her first charter for a "weekly mercate" and in 1269 a further charter was granted her for a fair. A market cross was said to have been erected about this time on the site of the present Town Hall; but, if this is so, all traces of it have long since disappeared. In the reign of Henry IV. the abbots of Westminster gained from the King exemption from tolls, and Moreton in common with other towns enjoyed this much coveted privilege. I have not found that any of those to whom the manor was leased were of great importance, and nothing of further moment in the history of Moreton seems to have occurred until the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1539, when King Henry VIII. granted the manor to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. On the restoration of Roman Catholicism in Mary's reign, it was vested in its former owners, and when Elizabeth came to the throne it once more changed hands, returning to the Dean and Chapter. They leased it in the following reign to Mr. Batson, or Bateson, of Bourton-on-the-Hill, and previously of Witney, in Oxfordshire. After remaining in that family for some years, the lease of the manor passed to the Greswykes, and, finally, in 1821, to John Freeman,

[1] In 1712 Moreton had again dwindled down to a village, for in that year a published list of Gloucestershire market towns omits all mention of Colford, Moreton and Northleche. In 1779 the population was only 579.

Baron Redesdale, in the county of Northumberland. The late Lord Redesdale purchased all manorial rights from the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and on his death in 1885 Mr. A. B. Freeman-Mitford, C.B., became Lord of Manor. Where the old Manor House stood is difficult to say. Possibly none existed in early times, for, generally speaking, the Lord of the Manor of Moreton was also Lord of the Manor of Bourton-on-the-Hill, and the latter was the more important place. The manor house of later times stands in the High Street, and is the present residence of Mr. Wadley. It is a curious old building of very mixed architecture—owing to its piece-meal erection—and bears old inscriptions upon it. Unfortunately, most of these are indecipherable; but, according to one, part of the house was built by Lord Saye and Sele in 1688. This nobleman then lived at Norton House, near Weston-sub-Edge, but does not appear to have had any other connection with Moreton. In the early part of the 18th century the Creswykes were living in Moreton, but this family died out, and about 1750 the house was sold to a Mr. Busby, who founded a linen cloth manufactory in the town. Mr. Busby bought the house very cheaply because, as it was solemnly averred, the ghost of Dame Creswyke haunted the house, and to this day a thrilling story is related of the unhappy end of that lady, and how on certain nights of the year strange shadows can be seen through the cracks in one of the doors re-enacting that terrible scene which led to the untimely end of the good lady.

Among the decorations of the manor house are some curious old gurgoyles, taken by Mr. Busby from the old Moreton Church, about which church I have noted some few particulars.

The wills of Moreton people seem very few at Worcester, but there is one at Gloucester in which the church is mentioned as being dedicated to St. David. The date of the will is *circa* 1560, and thus the question of the church dedication is not cleared up. In any case, however, it is some small argument in favour of the Welsh name theory, that the church should have been dedicated to the great Welsh saint.

The earliest church at Moreton was built in the 13th century, but, unfortunately, nothing but a few windows and the gurgoyles already referred to, remain of this structure. The windows have been discovered adorning the lodge of the manor house, and were placed there in the last century by Mr. Busby. Local tradition assigns the Congregational cemetery as the site of the old church, and in favour of the assertion it may be mentioned that a field adjoining the cemetery still bears the name of Church Close.[1] Notwithstanding the most careful search, I have been unable to find out anything further concerning this earlier church, although I am inclined to think it was in public use up to the time of the Dissolution, for at the last restoration (1861) of the present building a coin of the year 1561 was found underneath the tower.

In 1512 Pope Julius II. (the founder of the Holy League) issued a bull, granting right of burial to the Moreton people who had formerly, in common with many other parishes, paid mortuary fees to Blockley.[2] In 1513, according to the registers (at Worcester) of Bishop Silvester de Gigliis, Sir Nicholas Langleye was abbot's vicar at Moreton, and was taxed vj^{s} viij^{d}. A clerical tax in the Worcester Registry about the year 1538 mentions Sir Richard Godwyn as abbot's vicar of "Morton Henmershe": he was also taxed vj^{s} viij^{d}. The earliest entry at Worcester of any kind relating to Moreton is recorded in 1375 by the Priors (during the vacancy of the See) and only refers to the ordination as priest of William Prodomme, of "Moreton Hennemers," in the cathedral at Worcester.

The present church of St. David stands on the east quarter of the town, and presents, it is to be feared, small interest for the archæologist. It was mainly built in 1858, the nave now constituting the only part of the older church. Previous to 1858 the church possessed a small tower of Elizabethan architecture, but in that year, when, after side aisles had been thrown out to

[1] Quite recently some workmen dug up the foundations, apparently of Norman architecture, in the same place.

[2] The reason for so doing is explained in the following sentence in the original document:—"propter interposita montium juga praecipæ brumali tempore."

flank the nave, it was proposed to add a steeple to the tower, this was found impracticable, the tower was demolished. On the 23rd June, 1860, the stone-laying took place, the ceremony being performed by the Hon. Miss Mitford. An address was delivered by the Rev. J. N. Chase (curate-in charge of the parish), after which a silver trowel was presented to Miss Mitford, with which she laid the corner-stone. At the same time a bottle was deposited in a hole cut in the under-stone for its reception. This bottle contained a number of silver and copper pieces of money, mostly of that year's coinage, together with a scroll of parchment on which was written the fact that the corner-stone was laid by the Honourable Frances Mitford, of Batsford Park, this 23rd day of June, 1860.

The Church Registers date from 1643, but there are transcripts from this parish only for the years 1621, 1622, 1626, 1628, 1637, 1638, and 1640, until the restoration of Charles II. Not many curates of Moreton gained celebrity; in 1705 Jeremy Taylor, grandson of the great Jeremy Taylor, was curate; and in 1780 the incumbent was the Rev. Richard Morgan Graves, D.D. Dr. Graves came of an old county family, at one time resident in Middlesex, but which settled at Mickleton, in Gloucestershire in 1656, the manor of that place being bought in the same year by Richard Graves. Perhaps the most celebrated member of the family was the great-uncle of Dr. Graves, Richard Graves by name. He was the author of the *Spiritual Quixote*, a book which fifty years ago was supposed to have taken permanent rank as an English classic, but which now-a-days is seldom met with. Within our own times Mickleton has produced a no less distinguished ornament of English literature than Mrs. Bowen-Graves, the great-grand-daughter of Dr. Graves, and the gifted authoress of the well-known poem, *My Queen*. Dr. Graves died at Batsford in 1815.

Another Moreton curate, famous from his connections was the Rev. Richard Collier, who was descended from Giles Collier, sometime vicar of Blockley, and an ancestor of the late Admiral Sir Edward Collier, K.C.B. Giles Collier, who was a zealous

Puritan, attained some reputation as a controversial writer, his greatest work being a reply to a pamphlet written in 1650 by Edward Fisher (the last owner of Mickleton of that name) and entitled *A Christian Caveat to the Old and New Sabbatarians.*

I promised some further reference to the Cresswyke or Cresswick family. They originally came from Hanham Abbots, near Bristol. Francis Creswyke married Anne, daughter of Anthony Nicholls, of Moreton Hindmarsh, Esq., and had issue Sir Henry Creswyke, of Hanham Abbots, Knighted 5th September, 1663.[1] In the pedigree of Hastings, of Daylesford, Peneston Hastings is stated to have married Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Creswyke, of Moreton-in-the-Marsh, Esq.[2]

The Nicholls family also was connected with those of the Keyts and Hastings, for in 1682 Theophilus Nicholls married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Keyt, of Hidcote Bartrum, Esq., and a brother of this Francis Keyt, Hastings Keyt by name, who was a relative of the Daylesford Hastings, became a captain in the service of King Charles I., and was slain at Stow, and there buried in 1645.[3]

Charles I. himself had some connection with Moreton, for on his way to Evesham in 1643 he slept at the White Hart Hotel in Moreton in a room still proudly shewn by the proprietors of that ancient hostlery and containing the following couplet hung upon its walls :—

> "When friends were few and dangers near
> King Charles found rest and safety here."

From the earliest times I have found entries in the Moreton registers of the burials of weavers, and it may therefore be supposed that Moreton did some trade in woollen goods, seeing how famous the Cotteswold sheep were for their wool. In 1742 Mr. Busby established a large linen cloth business there, and this was carried on until recently by Mr. Edward Epps. At the time of the opening of the railway, when Mr. Brunel drove the first engine down the line, the directors were each presented with a very beautiful table-cloth made at Moreton.

[1] Harleian Soc. publications, Vol. VIII.

[2] In the Moreton registers I find that Samuel Creswyke died April 24th, 1683.

Two inscriptions are worthy of note in Moreton. The one is over the grave of a barber named Richard Lawton, and runs as follows :—

"Here lie the bones of Richard Lawton,
Whose death, alas, was strangely brought on
Trying one day his corns to mow off,
The razor slipped and cut his toe off."

"The toe, or rather what it grew to,
An inflammation quickly flew to,
Which took, alas, to mortifying,
And was the cause of Richard's dying."

The other, more interesting perhaps from an archæological point of view, belongs to the old curfew bell and clock tower in the town, and is headed by the two dates 1648 and 1663 :—

"Sir Robert Fry, Gent.
* * * * * * [1]
Gave 20s. a year to keep this clock in order."

The story goes that when Sir Robert Fry was one night returning from London he got lost in the fog on, what used to be called, Moreton Common. In gratitude to the curfew bell, whose notes led him safely home, he left this benefaction to the town ; unfortunately, however, the money has been entirely lost sight of. It is to be feared, however, that this story is not confined to Moreton alone, and it would, perhaps, be well to receive it *cum grano salis.*

Such are the few notes I have collected concerning this little Cotteswold town, and though, perhaps, its path in life has been calm and uneventful, none the less it forms a pleasing page in history of a district rich in historical interests and replete with antiquarian lore.

[1] This line is quite obliterated.

THE LAST BATTLE OF THE FIRST CIVIL WAR.

By F. A. HYETT.

The encounter, which is the subject of this Paper, owes its importance rather to its political consequence than to the number of its combatants. The battle was fought on March 21st, 1645, between 3000 cavaliers under Sir Jacob Astley, and 3500 roundheads under Colonel Morgan. Apart from any local interest it may possess, it has an interest of a wider character, for it extinguished Charles's final attempt to bring an army into the field. For many months before the engagement, the tide of fortune had been setting steadily against the Royalists, but the King had not given up hope, and he made one expiring effort to get together an army of sufficient strength to meet his opponents. With this object he sent Sir Jacob Astley and the ill-fated Sir Charles Lucas from Oxford to collect all the forces that could be spared from the Royalist garrisons in Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Worcestershire, and he thought that with help which he expected from France, and troops from Ireland, he would have sufficient force to cope with the Parliamentary army in the field. It was on the success of Sir Jacob Astley's enterprise, Rushworth tells us, that "they at Oxford built all their hopes." Such was the state of affairs in the nation on the eve of the battle of Stow-on-the-Wold. Of that battle and of the preliminary movements of the two armies we have several accounts by eye witnesses. The first in date is a letter addressed to Lenthall, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and signed by three of the Parliamentary Commanding Officers—Brereton, Morgan and Birch—and dated from "Stow-on-the-Wolds, March 21, about six in the morning, 1645." The fighting could not have been over many minutes before this letter was penned. The original is still preserved in the Bodleian Library. It is very short, and does little more than announce

the defeat of the Royalists. A fuller account will be found in a letter addressed to Lenthall, written from Campden the day after the battle, which commences as follows :—"Col. Morgan, Governor of Gloucester's letter to the Honourable William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker to the Honourable House of Commons, concerning the total Rovting and Taking of Sir Jacob Astley and his Army at Stowe upon the Wold." This letter was printed by Ed. Husband (Printer to the House of Commons) on March 24th, and it was also printed on the same day by Mathew Walbanke (the printer of the *Annalia Dubrensia*) with some slight alterations and a different title. It was also reprinted by Rushworth in his Collections in 1722. Another account is given entitled "A true and fuller relation of the Battell fought at Stow in the Would, March 21, 1645, in a Tract sent by a gentleman of Credit under Sir William Brereton to some Members of the Honourable House of Commons, and by them desired to be published." This was evidently written to aggrandise Brereton's share in the performance. It will be found printed at pp. 397-9 of Vicars' *Burning Bush.* But the most interesting narrative is to be found in "Memoirs of Some Actions in which Colonel John Birch was engaged, written by one Roe, his Secretary." The original MS. which is in the British Museum, has been printed by the Camden Society. According to this account Birch was the hero of the day, but then Roe's admiration for Birch was inordinate. There was also many notices of the fight in the Parliamentary newspapers of the day.

The following narrative is drawn from all of the above sources :—When Sir Jacob Astley was despatched from Oxford he had a hard task to perform. He found Bridgnorth abandoned and in disorder, and in the surrounding districts only scattered remnants of disbanded regiments and garrisons mutinous for want of pay. But by dint of much diligence he collected 3000 men "desperate and valiant, wrought up to the resolution of venturing their last stake in the field." All might have gone well had the King's party been able to keep their own counsel, but long before Astley left Bridgnorth the design in all its details was known to Parliament, who promptly took measures to frustrate it. Colonels

Fleetwood and Waller, with 1000 horse, were sent to the west of Oxfordshire. Colonel Morgan was ordered to intercept Astley on his way through Gloucestershire, and Colonel Birch, the Governor of Hereford, and Sir William Brereton, who commanded the Parliamentary forces in Cheshire, were ordered to march to Morgan's assistance. Birch joined Morgan at Gloucester, on or about March 15th, with nearly 1060 men. Morgan's force numbered 1100, and they were reinforced with 600 men from the Evesham garrison. They then marched towards Warwickshire, and Astley, at the head of 3000 men, found Morgan with 2700 men awaiting him on the opposite bank of the river. Some days were spent in marches and counter-marches. Astley endeavouring to evade Morgan and cross the river, only to find that wary Welshman near the spot which he had selected for his crossing. Morgan seems to have wearied of these tactics, and thinking Astley would never cross while he was so near the river, he withdrew to Campden on March 19th. On the evening of that day he received intelligence that Sir Jacob was near "Bedford, three miles from Evishalm" (evidently Bidford was meant), and he at once sent messengers to Fleetwood and Brereton, informing them of Astley's movements, and begging the latter for assistance. Astley's force crossed the river (probably at Bidford) on Friday, March 20th, and from the top of the hills, near Campden, Morgan watched them approaching through the vale. Though his men were fresh, and he had choice of ground, he hesitated to give them battle, and contented himself with skirmishing with them as they ascended Broadway hill, in order to delay their progress till Brereton's arrival. The account of these somewhat strange tactics shall be given in Morgan's own words: "But upon Friday, the Lord Astley still continuing his march, and Sir W. Brereton not come up, was forced to hold him in Action for the space of four Hours, Skirmishing with parties, and keeping my body drawn up in a most advantageous Place for Pursuit in Case he should pass me by before Sir Will. Brereton came up, which about Nine a clock that Night he did, whereupon I resolved to pursue, thinking it more advantageous to fall upon his rear, than at that time to draw out and meet him in the field, and in my pursuit Sir W. Brereton came

up with 800 horse." These cautious tactics seemed to have been suggested by Birch, who advised Morgan "not to tempt God by fighting overmuch, but to vex them with 500 horse and some foot," while the rest of the army fed and refreshed themselves "at Cambdin," which, according to Roe, they did abundantly. These skirmishes did not materially impede Astley's progress, for in four hours he and his little army had gained the top of Broadway Hill. His aim was not to fight, but to bring his force intact to Oxford, so at 9 p.m. he marched "very quietly" past the body of Morgan's force. The skirmishing then ceased, and Morgan seems to have allowed an hour or two to have elapsed before he commenced following him. According to Roe's account, Morgan was preparing to attack the Royalists in the rear with his whole force at 3 p.m., when Sir William Brereton most opportunely came up; but Morgan says, (and his narrative is probably the most reliable), that Sir Wm. Brereton arrived with his 800 horse between one and two o'clock while Morgan was still in pursuit. Brereton's men must have been well nigh exhausted, for they had been on the march for the greater part of the two preceding days, first in one direction and then in another, apparently put on the wrong scent by false intelligence. When the officers met, a friendly dispute took place between them, each desiring that the other should take command of the combined forces. It was finally arranged that the post should be held by Morgan, and he proceeded to draw up his little army (as the pamphleteers had it) 'in battalia.' He himself led the central division; the right wing consisted of Brereton's 800 horse, and the left wing was composed of Gloucestershire men. Morgan was now desirous that the engagement should commence at once, as he had received information that Astley was to be joined seven miles on the other side of Stow by some of the King's horse from Oxford, he therefore hastened after Astley, intending to attack him in the rear. But he found Sir Jacob ready for him, with his forces in battle array on some unenclosed land between the village of Donnington and Stow. The opposing forces remained within a short distance of each other for half an hour, awaiting daylight. Morgan, in his report to Parliament, written the day after the battle, merely says that

he "drew up and charged" Astley, "whom half an hour before day on Saturday morning I put to a total rout." There is, however, a more detailed account of the fight in No. 55 of the "Moderate Intelligencer," a Parliamentary newsbook, which appeared about March 26th, which may, perhaps, be accepted as reliable:—"Early in the morning, and, says the letters, an hour before day, we charged them in a plain near Stow, the dispute was hot, and the Parliament's forces were worsted twice, yet so as some maintained the fight, while others rallied; at last a party, not very numerous, took courage, charged home and routed the enemy, yea overcome them all, and in a very strange manner, some affirming there are not 300 that escaped, all the officers of Foot taken, many gentlemen and other of quality slain, divers of like rank taken prisoners, divers wounded, which, they might not perish, were dismissed to their homes with the last Oath, the Colonel not being willing they perish for want of chirugions, 200 were slain upon the place, 200 arms taken, 12 carriages, 1600 others, say 1700 Prisoners." This report certainly reads as if 200 of the wounded were mercilessly butchered. The war at this time seems to have been waged with much more cruelty, especially by the Parliamentary army, than at the commencement.

In a tract entitled "A True and Fuller Relation of the Battell," &c., which was written by one of Brereton's men, it was stated that it was the Gloucestershire men who gave way on the first charge, and that they were driven into a disorderly retreat. "But," he adds, "Sir Will. Brereton with our Right Wing of Horse charged their left both of Horse and Foot and totally Routed them, pursuing them into Stow; killing and wounding many in the town: and the meanwhile our left wing rallied; our word was 'God be our Guide,' the enemies word was 'Patrick and George."

The following is a list of the officers who were taken prisoners, copied from this tract:—

A List of the Commanders and Officers taken at the Battell at *Stow* in the *Would*, *March* 21, 1645.

Lord *Ashley*, Generall.
Collo: *Corbet.*
Collo: *Gerrard.*
Collo: *Mouldsworth.*
Lieut: Coll: *Broughton.*
Major *Billingsly*
Major *Harneage.*
Major *Saltstone.*
Capt: *Edw*: *Grey.*
Capt: *Tho*: *Gibbert*
Capt: *Harrison*
Capt: *Peacock.*
Capt: *Harris.*
Capt: *Salmon Halston.*
Capt: *Arding.*
Capt: *John Bonner.*
Capt: *Tho: Bonner.*
Capt: *Joshua Sing.*
Capt: *Hatton.*
Capt: *Geniger*
Capt: *Malhews.*
Capt: *Davenport* } Reformad.
Capt: *Geo: Wright* }
Capt: *Potts* }
Capt: *Smith* }
Lieut: *Hill.*
Lieut: *John Hobson.*
Lieut: *E...nswick.*
Lieut. *Warbnoton.*
Lieut: *Geo*: *Faucott.*
Lieut: *Hobman.*
Lieut: *Benjamin Thornbury.*
Lieut: *Fletcher.*
Lieut: *Kirke.*
Lieut: *Smith*, Remormad *(sic)*
Lieut: *Poole*, Reformad.
Lieut: *Hart*, Reformad.
Lieut: *Kely*, Reformad.
Capt: Lieut: *Aston.*
Lieut: *Edw: Baker.*
Cornet *Godfrey Preses.*
Cor: *Brooks.*
Cor: *Roberts.*
Cor: *Russell.*
Cor: *Francis Resketh.*
Ens: *Blackburn.*
Ens: *Horton.*
Ens: *Dedluck.*
Ens: *Ellis.*
Ens: *Farmer.*
Ens: *Cleaver.*
Ens: Avis.
Ens: *Hobson.*
Ens: *Calbrook.*
Ens: *Broughton*
Ens: *Mason.*
John de Ashfield, Clark.
Alexander Clegley, Chaplain to Sir *Will. Vaughan.*
Edw: *Barker*, Martiall Generall
Quartermaster *Stone* } Re-
Quartermaster *Watts* } formad.
Robert Weale, Chirugion.
Rich: Aston, Servant to Lord *Ashley.*
Mr. *Williams*, Quartermaster-General.
Coll: *Egerton*

Capt: *Stanley.*
2 Lieut: Coronels *(sic)*
Common Souldiers, 1630.
About 100 slain.
2000 Arms taken.

Taken since by Collo: *Fleetwood* in the pursuit.
Sir *Cha*: *Lucas.*
And 100 common Souldiers and Troopers.

The fighting must have been very sharp for a time. Birch had a horse shot under him, and 32 of his troopers' horses were shot. The prisoners, numbering some 1500 or 1600, were at first thrust into the church and afterwards sent to Gloucester, where they were confined in St. Mary de Lode Church, the very same building which, just three years before, had been used as a prison for Lord Herbert's little army of Welshmen who were captured at Highnam.

Soon after the battle Colonel Fleetwood, at the head of 1000 horse, appeared on the scene and captured about eighty of the fugitives, among others, the gallant Sir Charles Lucas, who had defended Berkeley Castle, and who was subsequently butchered at Colchester. The small remnant of the Royalist army which escaped fled to Faringdon.

An incident in this battle should not pass unnoticed, although it has often been told before. I give it in the words in which it is narrated by Vicars in "The Burning Bush," page 399: "Sir Jacob Astley being taken captive, and wearied in this fight, and being ancient (for old age's silver haires had quite covered over his head and beard), the souldiers brought him a drum to sit and rest himselfe upon; who being sate, he said (as was most creditably enformed) unto our souldiers, Gentlemen, yee may now sit and play, for you have done all your worke, if you fall not out among yourselves."

There was much prescience in this remark. The work of the Parliamentary army was certainly done for a time; and it might have been permanent, had not their party "fallen out among themselves."

Thus the first civil war was ended at Stow-on-the-Wold.

BOURTON-ON-THE-HILL.

BY THE REV. DAVID ROYCE, M.A., *Vicar of Nether Swell.*

THE History of Bourton-on-the-Hill, as derivable from written sources—the name is not found, as yet, in Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, nor charter, nor earlier than in the Domesday Survey.

In Deerhurst Hundred, the Church of S. Peter, Westminster, held the Manor of Deerhurst. To this manor belonged the four berewics, Elmston (Aylmundestone) Hardwick, Todenham, Sutton-under-Brayles, and Bourton to the amount of eight hides, or or about 1000 acres. These King Edward, the Confessor, took from the Priory of Deerhurst to endow his new Church at Westminster. These eight hides were not the whole of Bourton. Besides these, in Bourton, in King Edward's time, one Wluui, a radchenister,[1] held two hides. These William, the Conqueror, gave to his Chamberlain, Girard. He was, likewise, a favourite with the Queen Matilda. She was his great benefactress.[2] To compensate her, it would seem, and to be under the Queen's protection, as well as to increase the dues and services owed her as Lady of the Hundred of Tewkesbury, Girard brought the two hides at Bourton, with eleven in Kemerton and Bodington, out of the Deerhurst Hundred, into that of Tewkesbury. Hence, there were two manors in Bourton: one in the upper division of the later Westminster Hundred, and one in the upper division of Tewkesbury. Consequently the Bourton people, in the old-

[1] These belonged to the class "freemen." There were degrees in this class. Some could transfer their land, and go and live where they liked, and put themselves under what lord they pleased. But the "radchenister" Wluui, although a freeman, could not do this. He might have attached himself to another lord, but to leave his land in Bourton behind. These "radchenisters" are found, mainly, on royal and ecclesiastical property. They were bound to plow, harrow and mow, and tender the service from which it is thought they received the name of "Radchenister," viz., "Road-knight"—the service of riding with their lord, or lady, bishop or king, from manor to manor, for aid or protection.

[2] Analysis of Domesday, Gloucestershire. (Rev. C. S. Taylor, p. 34.)

fashioned days, lived, moved and slept, in twofold peace and safety, under the authority and safe guardianship of two constables.

Subsequently, according to Atkyns and Rudder, the Westminster portion of the parish was sacrilegiously taken by Robert Fitz Hamon from the abbey, in the time of William Rufus. He unjustly detained it until the reign of King Henry II., when Laurence, then Abbot of Westminster, recovered it by a suit at law. At the dissolution of the monastery, King Henry VIII. and Queens Mary and Elizabeth regranted and confirmed this manor to the Abbey.

This portion of Bourton being in the hands of the church, and not liable to the vicissitudes and inquests attending on lay-tenure is, as regards its holders, a blank up to the 17th century. The early records, mainly, perhaps, in the shape of Manor and Hundred Rolls, are in the keeping of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

The other manor, being in lay tenure, is more historic, yet not until the middle of the 14th century. It, then, for some two centuries, becomes one in descent with its neighbour, Condicote.

In the early part of the 13th century, according to Fosbrooke, Margaret de Cormeilles had land here, and, if so, probably, a portion of this manor. But the Inquisition after her death[1] gave

[1] Inq. p.m. 16 May, 20 Hen. III., 1236 :—"Hec est inquisicio per dominum Robertum de Stepelton', Willelmum de Cholle, Simonem Pikesleg', Willelmum de Broy, Willelmum de Aula, David de Asperton', Willelmum de la Nole, Thomam de Stokes, Willelmum de Mora, Ricardum de Hida, Ricardum Clement, Clemencium Caperun. Qui dicunt, quod Margeria habuit feodum dimidium militis in Tatinton', in Bolingehope in Clehungre. In quibus habuit tres carucatas terre, de dominico, per annum centum solidatarum redditus, quod in capite de domino Rege. Eadem Margeria habuit duo feoda militum, unde Rogerus de Eston tenuit unum feodum in villa de Eston in Comitatu Hereford'. *Jacobus de Solers* tenet alterum in Comitatu Glouc' in villa de *Begesoure et Hennemerse*. Terra quam tenuit in dominico valet xiij^{li} per annum cum redditu prenominato. Dicunt iidem quod predicta Margeria habuit duas filias maritatas, Aliciam et Isabellam; et Aliciam promogenitam desponsavit Robertus le Archer, alteram desponsavit *Symon de Solers*, et sunt eius heredes de *Waltero de Stokes*, marito suo. In huius rei testimonium sigilla sua apposuerunt.

The King took the homage of Robert le Archer and Simon de Solers, who had to wife the two daughters and heirs of Margaret. The Sheriff (Hereford) commanded taking security for £25 for their reliefs, and for the $\frac{1}{5}^{th}$ part of the Barony of Cormeille, to give seisin. At Merewell, 30 May, 1236.—*Fine Roll, 20 Hen. III, m. 8.*

merely, "*Henmershe.*" This might be Moreton. Fosbrooke thinks that *this* manor is meant, and so specified, in contradistinction to the Westminster portion. Margaret was great-grandaughter of Ansfrid de Cormeilles, a companion of the Conqueror, and one of the most extensive landowners in this county. Amongst other manors, he had that of Batsford (*Begesoure*), adjoining Bourton. Batsford descended to Margaret, who became the wife of Walter de Stokes. They had two daughters: Alice, the eldest, married to Robert le Archer, and Isabel, married to Simon de Solers, from whom Shipton *Solers*, inherited by him from Margaret, probably, took the affix. Margaret died in 1236. The descent of the manor, however, is not traceable until the reign of King Edward III.

3rd April, 36 Edw. III., 1362, Joan, the wife of John de Wynchestre, died seized[1] of a carucate and twenty acres of meadow, and xxx^{s} iiij^{d} rent. John, son of Sir John de Stonor, her kinsman (*consanguineus*) is her nearest heir, and nineteen years old. This Sir John de Stoner was the great statesman and justiciar in the reign of Edward II. He married the daughter of the Lord Lisle. The above *John*, his son (miles) [34 Ed. III.], inheritor of Bourton, married the daughter and heiress of Sir John Hernshull, co. Chester. Their son, Sir Edmund Stonor (5 Ric. II.. 1332) married the daughter of Sir Ralph Belknap. Sir Ralph Stonor, their son, married the daughter of . . . . the Earl of Ormond. Certain lands and

[1] Inquisicio capta apud Bourton' die Veneris proxima post festum Sancti Jacobi Apostoli, anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum tricesimo sexto, coram Philippo de Lutteleye, Escaetore dicti Regis, in Comitatu Gloucestrie, per sacramentum Willelmi Caldecote, Johannis Purrok, Benedicti de Stoke, Ricardi Edden, Johannis Sandres, Johannis Prodhomme, Johannis Heynes, Johannis Franceys, Willelmi Huwet, Ricardi Geffes et Willelmi Soutere, qui dicunt per sacramentum suum, quod Johanna, que fuit uxor Johannis de Wynchestre, tenuit domino Rege in capite, die quo obiit in dominico suo, ut de feodo, apud Bourton' in Com. Glouc. unam carucatam terre, que valet per annum, ultra reprisas, xiij^{s} iiij^{d}. Item, quod tenuit, ibidem, viginti acras prati, que valent per annum, ultra reprisas, xx^{s}. Item, dicunt quod sunt ibidem xxxix^{s} iiij^{d} de redditu tenencium ibidem, solvendos ad festa Annunciacionis Beate Marie, et Sancti Michaelis, equis porcionibus. Et dicunt, quod predicta, terre, pratum et redditus tenentur de domino Rege, in capite, per servicium militare. Et dicunt quod predicta Johanna obiit die dominica proxima ante festum Omnium Sanctorum ultimo preteritum. Et dicunt, quod *Johannes, filius Johannis de Stonore, consanguineus predicte Johanne*, est heres eius propinquior, et etatis decem et novem annorum.—*Inq. p.m. 36 Edw. III., p. 2, No. 77.*

tenements in Bourton in Hennemershe, and the advowson of the church there, which are held of Lord le Despenser, but by what services unknown, worth yearly, after all reprises, C^{s}, came into the hands of the late Rich. II. by the death of Sir Ralph de Stonore, and by reason of the minority of Gilbert, his son and heir. Gilbert died 2 Sept. 20 Richard II. (1396). Thomas, his brother, was his heir, and, then, aged twenty-one years and more. He married Alice, daughter and heiress of Sir John Kirkby. Their son, Thomas Stonor, Esquire, married Joan, illegitimate daughter of Delapole, Duke of Suffolk. Their son, Sir William, married Anna, daughter and coheiress of John Nevill, Marquis of Montacute. John, their son, married Mary, daughter of Sir John Fortescue, and, dying without issue, was succeeded by Sir Adrian Fortescue, who had married Anne, daughter of Sir William Stonor and sister of John. Sir Adrian was succeeded by Thomas, first Lord Wentworth, who had married his eldest daughter and heiress, Margaret, and died, 5 Edw. VI. 1551. His son, Thomas, second Lord Wentworth, sold the manor of Bourton-on-the-Hill to Richard Palmer, in Trinity term, 1556, whereupon he was warned to be before the Barons of the Exchequer for alienation or purchase of the manor, without the Queen's licence. He appeared, by attorney, and stated :—that there were two manors, one known only as *Burton*, and the other as *Burton Henmersshe*, alias *Bourton-on-the-Hill*—that before the levying of the fine, Thomas Smyth, of Chipping Camden, Esquire, was seized in fee of Burton, and that Sir Thomas, Lord Wentworth, was seized in fee of the manor of Burton, in Henmersshe, alias Burton-on-the-Hill, and held it of the Dean and Canons of Westminster. By a fine levied in eight days of Holy Trinity, 1566, Thomas, Lord Wentworth, and Anne, his wife, and William Himynge and Edward Grimstone, Esq., acknowledged the said manor to be the right of Richard Palmer. By virtue whereof the said Richard was seized of the manor in fee, holding it of the said Dean and Canons—and not of the Crown. He could not, however, be discharged before search be made, whether any service be due to the Queen from Thomas Smyth, who does none for the manor of Burton.

According to warning, 12th February, 1567-8, the latter appears at the close of Easter in person. He prays a hearing of a Record in Memoranda, 1526, and another, Michaelmas, 1527, to this effect, that Christopher Savage and Anne, his wife, a daughter of John Stanley Esq., and George Stanley, Clerk, do homage for the manors of Chipping Campden, *Burton*, Westington, Aston-sub-Egge, Ulington, Norton-sub-Egge, and thirty messuages in Campden, &c. He alleges that he was not, nor is now, a tenant of the freehold of the manor of Burton, nor had, nor has, anything in any parcel of it. He appears in person twice, is in default a third time. The Sheriff distrains him to appear and do fealty. The writ was not returned—here the record ends, and no more in either of the two cases appears. The manor or manors came to Sir Nicholas Overbury, then of Aston-sub-Egge (baptized there 7th May, 1549). He married Mary, the daughter of Giles Palmer,[1] of Compton Scorffin, Ilmington, Warw., Esquire, Recorder and M.P. of Gloucester, a Judge of the Marches, knighted at Warwick, 22nd August, 1621, and buried at Bourton-on-the Hill, 31st May, 1647. His burial is thus entered :—"Sir Nicholas Overbury, that ancient and venerable knight, who long and faithfully served both his Sovereign and Country, in the Raynes of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles, and was buried on the last day of May, 1643, hee being then about one hundred years old." His wife was buried at Bourton, 14th June, 1641. His will, 1st Sept. 1640, with codicils, 17th Feb. 1641; 17th May, 1643; occupies, in small type, 2½ pages of *The Genealogist* (I., pp.268-270, 1877), and by its numerous bequests to his children and kinsfolk, supplies a copious pedigree. He bequeaths his body to be buried in Bourton Church, in decent manner, near his loving and beloved wife; xl^{s} to the 'reparacion' of the church; iiij^{li} to the poor of Bourton; xl^{s} at his decease; xl^{s} the Easter after; xl^{s} to the poor at Moreton Henmarsh, Blockley, Cheping Camden, and Stow-on-the-Wold. To the Lady Overbury, wife of his son, Sir Giles, the two "Colledge potts of silver, the one whereof was made of the Silver wch was given unto

[1] In a window of Mr. Gibbs' house, Darlingscott, an old stained glass shield bore the arms of OVERBURY impaling, *Chequy, arg. and az. a chief gules*, PALMER.

Sir Thomas Overbury, Knight (my eldest son, deceased) by the King of Denmarke, for his service done unto the said King, when hee was heere in England in the time of the late King James, of famous memory; and after, by him given to his mother, my late wife." The other was made of the Judicial Seal, which was his due, as Chief Justice of the Counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke and Cardigan, as a fee, when the old seal was broken up for a new one.

Sir Thomas Overbury, son of the above Sir Nicholas and Mary, was not, as Fuller states, born at Bourton; but, according to Anthony à Wood, at Compton Scorffin, Ilmington, Warwickshire, in his mother's father's house there. He was baptized at Barton-on-the-Heath, 18th June, 1581. At the age of fourteen years, he matriculated as a gentleman-commoner of Queen's College, Oxford, February, 1594-5, and took his degree in 1598. He entered the Middle Temple; then travelled for a little time, and published two works, containing "Observations in his Travels," under his own name. About the time of the Coronation of James I. he became acquainted so familiarly with Robert Carre, that "it was questionable, whether Robert Carre, Earl of Somerset, were more in the favour of King James, or this Sir Thomas Overbury in the favour of the Earl of Somerset. The latter procured knighthood for Sir Thomas, and the Welsh judgeship for Sir Nicholas, his father. The endeavour to dissuade Carre from his familiarity and marriage with Francis Howard, danghter of the Earl of Sussex, and wife of Robert, Earl of Essex, proved his overthrow. To get him out of the way, the King was induced to appoint him Ambassador for Russia. Carre (whose counsel Sir Thomas asked) persuaded him "to decline the appointment, as no better than *an honourable grave*, and that it was better to lie for some days in the Tower, than more months in a worse prison, a ship by sea, and a barbarous cold country by land." He might be imprisoned, but the King would be brought to release him. He followed the advice, as that of a kind friend. No sooner was he in the Tower, 21st, April, 1613, than his refusal was represented as an act of high contempt. A stricter restraint aided Carre and the Countess. By a horrid process of poisoning they contrived to despatch Sir

Thomas, 13th September, 1613, at the age of thirty-two years. He was buried in the Tower Chapel of S. Peter ad Vincula. His burial is thus entered in the Register there—"1613 Sr Thomas Overbury, prison^{r}, poysoned, buried xvth of September"; and in the Bourton Register, thus—"1613. Sept. 15. Thomas Overburie, Eques Auratus, veneno, Turre Londinensi, confectus." Fuller speaks of the happiness of his pen, in prose and poetry. In the former, "he was the first writer of *Characters* of our nation." In the latter, a poem, "On the Choice of a Wife," was of so much merit as to go through seven editions: one, after his death, was entitled, "A Wife, now a Widow, of Sir Thomas Overbury." Three engraved portraits of him are mentioned by Anthony à Wood. Thomas Overbury, of Barton-on-the-Heath, Esq., in his will, 14th July, 1371, gave unto the University of Oxford the picture of Sir Thomas Overbury, "which now hangs over my Drawing room Chimney, to be by them hung up in some publick place, with a proper inscription under it." Another painted portrait of him hangs in the Grand Stair-case at Ditchley.

This manor, on the death of Sir Nicholas, passed to another Sir Thomas, nephew of the above Sir Thomas, and son of his brother, Sir Giles Overbury. He was a Justice of the Peace, and lived at Bourton. He wrote a full account of the trial and execution of Joan Perry, and her two sons, John and Richard, for the supposed murder of William Harrison, Gent., of Campden, who, however, turned up twelve months afterwards. He was a great traveller. A work written by him in defence of Religious Toleration was answered by George Vernon, the Rector of Bourton-on-the-Water, in his *Ataxie Obstaculum*, to which Sir Thomas replied. He sold his inheritance at Bourton-on the-Hill to Alexander Popham, about the year 1680, retired to his estate at Adminton, in Queinton parish, and there died and was buried.

Alexander Popham was, according to Burke, son of Edward, the fifth son of Sir Francis Popham, of Littlecote, Wilts—which Edward was Colonel, General, and Admiral of the Parliament Fleet, and was called to the Upper House of Parliament. He died August 29th, 1651, and was interred in Westminster Abbey,

Oliver Cromwell attending his funeral, Oct. 24th, on the evening of the General Thanksgiving for the Victory at Worcester, and was one of those disinterred by order of Charles. The above Alexander, his son, is said by Anthony à Wood to have been born deaf and dumb, and to have been taught to speak by Dr. William Holder, of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and Rector of Blechingdon, Oxon, in the year 1659. About 16th April, 1629, he, being then of Charleton, and about 31, married Brilliana, then about 20, the daughter of Sir Edward Harly, of co Hereford. Their three daughters, Maria, April 10th, 1684; Letitia, July 10th, 1685; and Anne, Nov. 13th, 1686: and one son, Edward, December 29th, 1687, were baptized at Bourton. Brilliana, the mother (1618), and Letitia (1738) died, and were buried here; to whose memory a mural tablet was put up in the South Aisle. After the death of his father, Edward Popham succeeded, "who liveth in a handsome large seat in this place, and has a great estate." (Atkyns).

From the Pophams this manor passed to the Batesons,[1] Richard Bateson, of Driffield, co. Wilts, is described, also, as of Bourton-on-the-Hill. His son, William, was first of Burford and Milton, co. Oxon, then of Bourton-on-the-Hill. He was twice married—1. to Joyce, daughter of Hercules Osbaldeston, of Chadlington, co. Oxon, who died in 1631; 2. to Mrs. Gertrude Corney,[2] widow, Sept. 1st, 1634, buried June 27th, 1663. He was eminent for his loyalty in the civil wars, was 'denoted' as a delinquent, and suffered accordingly.

The following is a copy of the transactions between him and Committees of the Parliament:—

According to your order of the 19th ffebr. 1648, upon the Petic̃on of William Batson, of Burton, in the Co. of Glouc. gent., deserving a Review and Abatement of his ffine:—We finde

That his ffine was sett, here, the 5th of January, 1647, as an Attorney at Law, at a third, amounting to £700. Whereof he hath payed us a moiety.

It appeareth that his case was reported to the Lords and Com̃ons for Sequestrac̃on in August, 1647, where it depended till the 22 of December, 1647, and then he was voted a Delinquent, and the next day he peticoned here, and compounded here, within 13 dayes after.

1 Visitation of Gloucester, 1682-3. 2 Parish Register.

We finde that in Michaelmas Term, 1645, he was putt out from being an Attorney of the Court of Comon pleas, by Judgement of that Court, in an Accon of Debt. And he deposeth, that *that* was long before any Complaint made against him for delinquency.

He inserted in his Particular his goods, Cattell, Corne, Wooll and houshold stuff, amounting to £594, which were then Inventoryed by the Sequestrators of Gloucester, and he added his bedding and other goods, amounting to £70, which made in all £664, for which his fine was sett £221, part of the fine aforesaid. And you, by your letter to the Com^tes of Glouc., gave them notice of this Particular and Composicon for the said personall estate indisposed off, yet, he complayneth, that the said Committee of Glouc., since his said composicon, here, have made him pay unto them £200 for his composicon with them, for the same goods, and, produceth their acquittances for the payment off £150 thereof.

Indorsed, 24 ffebr. 1648. All wch y^r certyficate.

The Copie of Gloucester Certyficate, by direccon of the Committee of the Goldsmithes Hall :—

Upon perusal of yours of the 24 ffebr., 1648, desireing this Co^tie to certifye the cause why they receved the sum of 200^li out of the personal estate of Mr Wm Batson. This Co^tie does hereby certifye, that upon an order of yor Co^tie of the 12 Jan. 1647, wherein you declared your opinion, that, in case this Co^tie has made seizure of any parte of the estate of the s^d Mr Batson (the 23 Dec. last being the day when hee prefered his peticon and particular to you) they ought not to make any restitucon, but might dispose of what had bin so seized to the use of the State—and the Co^tie havinge longe before made seizure of his personal estate, and not findinge the same in the particular of his estate sent down by you—thereupon they did proceede to the sequestracon thereof, out of which they raysed the said sum of 200^li.

March 6, 1647. A printed notice to Mr. Bateson of his being assessed by the Assessors sitting at Haberdashers' Hall, London, appointed to assess such as have not contributed upon the propositions of both Houses of Parl^t, or not in proportion to their estates, at the sum of 500^li by virtue of the late Ordinance for assessment of a twentyeth part. He is required to appear at Haberdashers' Hall to give satisfaction to this assessment within 10 days after notice hereof. Signed by Martyn Dallison, Clerk to the Committee of Lords and Commons for the advance of money, &c.

To Mr. Bateson, of Bourton-on-the-Hill.

June 9, 1648. The above Committee order Mr. Bateson, to be discharged of his $\frac{1}{20}^{th}$ part. It appearing he is very much in debt, and hath paid his $\frac{1}{5}^{th}$ part. [Signed] Martin Dallison.

In dorso. Let this be kept.

Aug. 31, 1644. A receipt for £10 (paid by Mr. Bateson, of *Bourton Super Montem*) for the use of the King and Parliam^{t}.

[Signed] Mich. Webb, Maior.
Thomas Hill.

The *first* payment of the 5th and 20th pt. at Gloucester.

Aug. 8, 1646. A *second* receipt of £5; parte of his 5th and 20th part.
[Signed] Ric. Castle.

July 26, 1648. A bonde or Bill, on the part of W. Bateson, to pay to John Maddocks, William Sheppard, John Dorney, Esq^{rs}, of the Citie of Glouc. £100 to the use of the State.

Henry Fletcher's acquittance—for 28th July, 1648, £56; 1 September, 1648, £44. Both sums received by the hands of Capt. Richard Castell—8th Nov^{r}., by Mr. Robt Watson, £50—5th ffebr. 1648, £50, by Leftent Coll. Grimes. These four sums are for the *personal* estate.

He appears at Haberdashers' Hall, and produced the following account:—

The Committee of Goldsmiths' Hall took a third part of Bateson's estate, valued at £2100, by the particular extant, and made him pay £700, as appears by acquittance.

His goodes taken and seized by the Committee of Glouc^{r}—and, therefore, the Committee of Goldsmiths' Hall would let them be compounded for there—

	li	*s.*	*d.*
So that Batson hath payd and secured	700	00	00
The Committee of Glouc^{r} have secured all his goods to the value of 594^{li} more	594	00	00
The Committee of Imdemnity ordered 150^{li} more to be taken from Batson	150	00	00
That Batson payd his 5th part, and Twentyeth parte in August, 1644	020	00	00
That he advanced *Horse and Armes*, with other things to *Major Puryfoy*, for the parliament's service, as appears by his acquittance	020	00	00
That *Captain Sambuch* had from mee *Two horses and more*, for Parliament Service, worth	020	00	00
That *Captayne Michelborne* had of mee Two *horses more* for the Parliament service, worth	020	00	00
That *Maior Carr*, being Maior to Sr Wm Waller, had *one geldinge* for the Parl^{t} service, worth	013	00	00
That he quartered the Parliament Souldiers, to the value of 167^{li} 11^{s} 6^{d}, at xij^{d}. a day and a night for a man and horse and 6d. a day for a footman, & niver received a penny for it	167	11	06
That he hath payd to the Parliament in Contribucion, Taxes, 163^{li} 7^{s}. 0^{d}.	163	07	07
Qy. 1767^{li} (*sic*)	1776	19	01

Now againe they send for the some of 500li for a $\frac{1}{5}$th and 20th part, albeit hee hath payd and advanced, as before. Batson became so much out of purse, and is in debt to the value of above 1600li and upwards.

In dorso. Briefe of Batson, Haberdashers' Hall.

He was buried here December 7th, 1654, aged above 90 years. The last of this family, apparently, thus connected with this parish, of the same name, William Bateson, married Susannah, daughter of Edmund Pytts, of Kyre Ward, Worcestershire, Esq., and died in 1819, of the same advanced age as his forefather and namesake, 90 years ;[1] having been baptised Dec. 11th, 1728. He seems to have sold to Lord Deerhurst, who sold to Sir James East, Bart. (of happy memory), the great house (Bourton house) now occupied by the gentleman who has so admirably arranged for this successful excursion, Algernon Rushout, Esquire, himself the worthy representative of a most ancient and distinguished line. To this house is attached a tithe-barn, once one of the largest in England. Was there a house, here, for the Tewkesbury manor? On a stone over the entrance are cut the letters R.P. 1570, for Richard Palmer, the patron of the benefice, and kinsman of Giles Palmer, whose daughter was wife of Sir Nicholas, and mother of Sir Thomas Overbury. In the Register, 1571, Nov. 22nd was buried "the worshipfull and vertuous matron, Mrs. Elice Palmer, æt. 80." In 1569, Dec. 4th, Wm ffreeman, of Blockley, Gentleman, married Mrs. Alice Palmer, daughter of Richard Palmer, Gent. In the year 1568, Febr. 15, was baptized Johane, daughter of Richard Palmer, Gent.; and in 1570, April 15, Margaret, daughter of Mr. Richard Palmer.[3]

The handsome block of building, standing back on the left hand, above the Church, represents the Manor House of the Westminster portion. When the late Earl of Redesdale, in 1856, bought the freehold of the manor of the Dean and Chapter, his lordship divided the Manor House, where the Squires Bateson had lived, into two farmhouses, now occupied by Mr. Davis and Mr. Slatter.

[1] Visitation of Gloucestershire, 1682-3

[2] Bourton Register.

[3] For Edward Palmer, uncle of Sir. Thomas Overbury, see Fuller's *Worthies*, I. 387.

Before the purchase, the Earl was described, as "Lord Farmer," afterwards as "Lord of the Manor."

A large dovecote, belonging to another farmhouse on the same side, lower down, is worthy of attention. It reminds one of the fine old specimen at Lower Slaughter, which the architect was desired to take for his ideal and model in designing the Manor House, there. The dove-house (columbarium), in former days, was a very steady source of profit.

The Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Oxford had lands in this parish, and in Moreton Henmarsh.

For a moment to go back to earlier times for Bourton names.

1221. One Serlo, of Bourton, had two sons, Samuel and Gilbert. Samuel went to the Holy Land. Whilst he was at Jerusalem, his father enfeoffed his second son, Gilbert, in Samuel's inheritance. Gilbert married Sibil. He died, and Sibil retained Samuel's house. After seven years of widowhood, and her second marriage with Peter Russ, Samuel came back, and by the following process sought to recover his own. Richard le Bedel, Richard, son of Geoffrey, and Reginald, of Seisincote, broke into Samuel's house, now in Sibil's occupation, broke open a box, took away four sheets, a counterpane (*chalonem*), ten ells of cloth, three whimples (*pepla*), two towels (*toialla*), a gold ring and other jewels, five oxen, two cows, one bullock, one horse, fourteen quarters of wheat, and other corn, a new cart ironed, and many utensils. The case was, really, a civil claim under the fictitious form of robbery. The matter was compromised by leave of the Court.

In a singular case, the Bassetts, Geoffrey, John, Walter, Ralph, Henry and Robert, were sued by Geoffrey of Sutton [under Brailes] for an assault at an ale, which ended in his death. Robert the only one appearing, the others, being of his household, was found guilty by a jury and the four townships, Sesincote, Todenham, Bourton and Moreton, and was hanged.

Felicia de Bourton sued Roger de Bourton for beating her and robbing her of a mark; though sworn to prosecute, she did not appear, nor did Roger, who was held to appear by Hugh de Cuil-

lardeville, Ralf de Welneford, Robert de Icford and Simon de Bourton. He was an outlaw in Oxfordshire. He was accused, also, of burning Ralf de Welneford's house. Hugh, Ralph de Icford, and Ralph de Welleford were pledged to produce him. In default they were in mercy-fine.—*Pleas of Crown for Gloucester* (Maitland).

A name is supplied by the "Chantry Certificates," contributed by Sir John Maclean to this Society's Transactions, (vol. viii., 297) "A certeyn annuall Rent" was "given for the mayntenance of an yerelie obitte for oon Heynez, wch is, by yere, vj^{s} viij^{d}, whereof is Distributid, yerelie, to the Releyvynge of poore people, vj^{d}."

Names of other persons, of station, substance and character, appear in the parish register. Several of the ancient family of the Rutters. Of these, Isabella, sister of Michael Rutter, of Queinton, was the mother of Sir Nicholas Overbury. His great grandson, Michael Rutter, of Bourton-on-the-Hill, married Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Hales, of co. Kent, and of the Whitefriars, or Hales Place, in Coventry. This lady was distinguished as the 'angel of the parish.' Her portrait, attached to her funeral sermon (Hosea, vj., 2), preached by the then Rector of Bourton, Giles Oldesworth, in 1661 [dedicated to Sir John Hales, of Warwick, her nephew], gives some little idea, how, if the most classical features command admiration, there is still a higher and more commanding beauty, that goes straight to the heart, that induced the writing of the couplet, beneath the engraving :—

"Life more abundant in her looks you see,
Picture her Soule, a Hev'nly Saint is Shee."

This portrait is engraved with four shields in its corners, one with Rutter quartering Hales. The others are inscribed : "Dominae Dorotheae Rutter, Martii 21mo. Vera Effigies, 166½. Anno Ætatis sua, 31mo." On her decease (in childbed) she was greatly lamented by the multitude she had succoured during her too brief existence. The funeral sermon was republished, with a fresh engraving, in 1820, by T. Berry, from a rare print in the possession of E.W. Martin, Esq."[1] These two entries are in the Bourton Parish Register, "1659. May 24, bapt. Thos. s. of Michael

[1] *Reliquary*, XII., 238.

Rutter, of this parish, Esqr. and of his wife, Mrs. Dorothy [Hales]." Burials, "1662, April 1, Mrs. Dorothie [Hales] wife of Michael Rutter Esquire."

Nicholas Rutter, great-grandson of William Rutter, brother of Isabella, wife of Sir Nicholas Overbury, married Mary Gibbes, of Stretton-on-Fosse, probably connected with the above John Gibbes, and with W. Gibbes, the donor of the blankets,[1] doled out with ringing of bells, on S. Thomas Day.

Connected with the Palmers is Richard Carique, who married a Palmer, 5th January, 1588. Four coats[2] were confirmed, and a crest newly granted, by Robert Cook, Clarenceux, to Richard Carique, of Bourton-on-the-Hill, Gent., son of Richard Carique, of Tewkesbury, Gent., and Mary, his wife, daughter of Anthony Harcourt, co. Leicester, son of William Harcourt, of Bosworth, and of Jane, daughter and coheiress of William *Palmer*. Richard 'Careg,' of Tewkesbury, had Hall Place, Lower Slaughter. Henry Carique, of Chipping Norton—who married Jane, sister and heiress of Henry Cutts, and had by her William, Martin, Richard, who married Ursula, daughter of Thomas Busshell, of Broad Merston, Glouc., and Mary, wife of Francis Gorges, Chilingleigh, Kent—was brother of Richard Carique, of Bourton-on-the-Hill. The latter had a son of his own name.

May 28th, 1747. John Head, of Hodcutt, Berks, Esq., married Mrs. Lucy Harward, of this parish, at Batsford, and "has a very handsome modern-built house with pleasant gardens here." The father of Lucy, Dr. Kempe Harward[4] married Mrs. Eliz. Carter, of

[1] A large marble tablet on the South wall of the Aisle, at the South end, memorializes, in two columns, this gift, and the Industry, Integrity, Benevolence and Thrift of the Donor. He is buried in the churchyard.

[2] Or, a fesse dancettée, betw. 3 talbots pass. sa. *Crest*—An ostrich arg. beaked and legged or., holding in the mouth a broken spear of the last, headed of the first, Carrick, co. Glouc. 2. Arg. on a chief engr. gu., 3 crosses fitchée or., Otterbourne, co. *York*. 3. Arg. on a pale gu. 3 escallops or. Fitzwygram, *Walthamstow*. 4. Arg. a fret gu. on a chief of the last three pheons, or. Beltoft.

[3] Rawlinson's MS., B. 429, 148b.

[4] He bore arms (on his monument), Checky or. and az.: on a bend gules two eagles displayed, argent—'Kempe' was a favourite name in the Abell family, Bidford. The following extracts, from the Harvington Registers, show how it came to be adopted :—14th March, 1618, Kempe, son of Wm. Abell, was baptized ; witness, Kempe Harwarde. 1595. Robert Harwarde and Margaret Kempe were married.—*Genealogist*, *I.N.S.*, *20*.

Blockley. To the doctor and his son, who died and were buried at Bourton, a monument was erected, on the S. wall of the church, by the above Lucy. On the same monument, in the space below, an epitaph has been added to the Rev. Thomas Williams, M.A., formerly of Balliol College, and many years Vicar of Bere Regis. He died 5th May, 1829, aged 80 years. A name resembling 'Harward' appears in the Diocesan Registry of Marriage Licences, Worcester, 23 Dec. 1720. Robert Robins, of Blockley, upwards of 50, bachelor, married Elizabeth Hayward, of Bourton-on-the-Hill, about 19, maiden.

29th Jan. 1702. Was buried 'Samuel Kimberley,[1] Doctor of Phisic'; and 9th Febr. 1703, Mrs. Kimberley, daughter of Mr. *Michael Rutter*. 10 July, 1685. Samuel Kimberley accumulated the Degrees in Physic. William Cole, of Gloucester Hall, Oxford, dedicated an "*Essay concerning the late frequency of Apoplexies*," &c., 8vo, Oxford, 1685, to Dr. Samuel Kimberley.

Bourton, through her former Chapelry, is, indirectly, associated with the Great Founder of our Empire in the East. Governor-General Warren Hastings was the grandson of the Rev. Peniston Hastings—son of Peniston Hastings and Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Creswick, of Moreton Henmarsh—baptised at Moreton, 19th October, 1677. Mrs. Elizabeth Hastings, of Dailesford, was buried 21st June, 1699.—*Moreton Register*.

The great age of the chief people is noticeable. "The worshipful Mrs. Alice Palmer" reached 80; Sir Nicholas Overbury a 100 years and more; Richard, father of W. Bateson, 90; both W. Batesons, 90. "27 June, 1665, was buried Joane Allen, aged above 105 years" Nevertheless the village suffered severely from the Plague. In the Register are entered together forty-six names of those who "died by the pestilence." Amongst the victims are the chief residents.

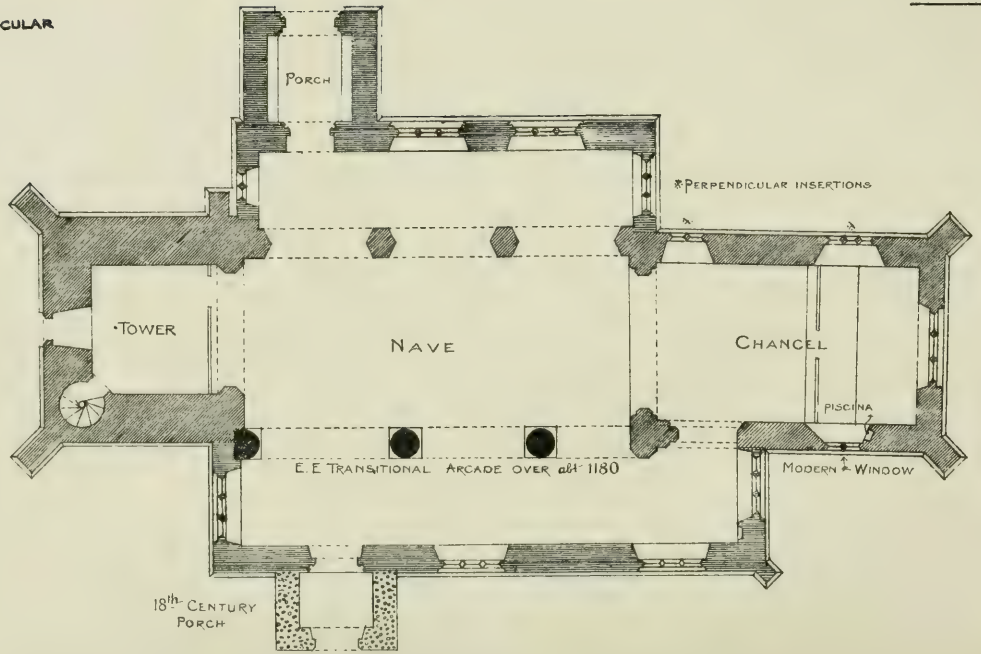
[1] 4 Jan. 1695. A Faculty confirms the Doctor in two seats (*sedilia*) erected by him in Campden Church, adjoining the seat of Thomas Wilson, Gent., on the East, and of John Hall on the West; in length, ten feet and three thumbs (*pollices*); in width, seven feet; for himself and family to sit, stand, kneel and hear in, without any letting in, or intrusion of any one (*ad sedendum, standum, et genua flectenda et Divina audienda absque intromissione vel intrusione uniuscunque*).—*Glouc. Reg. 5, p. 46.*

NORMAN

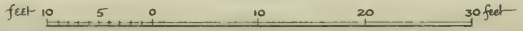
DECORATED

PERPENDICULAR

St. Lawrence.
Bourton on the Hill. Glos.
Plan of Church.



SCALE.



E. Guy Dawber. A.R.I.B.A. Delt.
22, Buckingham Street W.C.
July 1891.

THE CHURCH.

The Church is ascribed to S. Laurence. It is curious that the churches of both the Bourtons are assigned to this Saint—and, in both cases, erroneously. In the following list of clergy, the Parish Church is under the tutelage of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[1] May the mistake have arisen, thus?—Barton-on-the-Heath, in the Worcester Registers, seems to be described as Barton *in Henmershe.* S. Laurence, according to Ecton, is the Patron Saint of the Church of Barton-on-the-Heath. From the resemblance of the names, may S. Laurence, of Barton-on-the-Heath or Barton Henmarshe have been assigned to Burton, or Bourton Henmarshe, or Bourton-on-the-Hill?

With the kind permission of Mr. E. Guy Dawber, his exact account of the sacred building is inserted: "The Church contains work of all periods of architecture. In plan it has the usual features—Nave, Aisles, Chancel, Western Tower and North and South Porches. (*See Plan Plate VII*).

The Norman shafts and caps[2] of the South Arcade are the only remaining portions of an earlier building of the eleventh century, but the Church has been so altered, in later times, that no other remains can be seen. The arches over the shafts are of the Transitional Period to Early English; whilst the North Arcade and the Chancel are probably Decorated. Some small remains of Early English work[3] may be seen built in the arch of the South Porch, a late edition of the eighteenth century.

The Tower is a good specimen of late Decorated work, in three stages, with angle buttresses, parapet and stair turret[4] carried up above the roof. The head of the lower window in the Tower and the West Door are, probably, later insertions.

The main portion of the Chancel is of late Decorated work, the angle buttresses, with pinnacles over some of them, the Priest's door, partly blocked up[5] on the South side, and the East window

[1] This discovery is due to the Rev. T. P. Wadley.

[2] Enriched with the inverted cone.

[3] Of two orders, keel moulding with a deep hollow between.

[4] Surmounted by a pretty kind of broach.

[5] At the angle here the plinth of the aisle is stopped, by reason of the above blocking.

with reticulated tracery, are all, evidently, of this date. The North windows were probably inserted in the fifteenth century, when the flat roofs were put on. Noticeable is the peculiar way in which the panelled work in the parapet is stopped on the South side. The South window in the Chancel is of modern date. The North and South Aisles, the Nave Roof and Clerestory are of the Perpendicular period; although the North Aisle, from the good character of its mouldings and windows, seems of a slightly earlier date.

Behind the organ, at the right side of the East window of the South Aisle, are remains of fifteenth century Tabernacle work. Most probably this has been used as a Chapel at one time.

The old fifteenth century Font is a good specimen of the period, but for some time it has been laid aside." (*See Plate VIII., fig. 1.*)

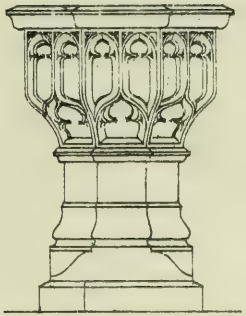
A pretty decorated Piscina with pyramidal crocketed head and side shafts with pinnacles, and stone credence shelf, has, apparently, been moved from its place in the South wall to the splay of the new elongated window (preceded, as the hood would, perhaps, prove, by a shorter one), the sill portion of which forms still a sedile for the Priest. (*See Plate VIII., fig. 2*).

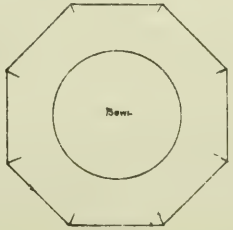
The only remaining Stained Glass is in the tracery of the E. window of the N. Aisle. Over the centre light are two kneeling figures, of a gentleman in crimson doublet and yellow hose and a lady in the compartment behind in common gown. Round the latter is the legend: "Et alicie Wxoris eius." Over the former: "Orate pro bono statu ricardus (*sic*) S . . . he . . " The lettering of the name is, for the most part gone. At the upper curve of the 'S' there seems to be the top of the letter 'l.' We thus lose the founders of the Chantry. The Manor Rolls in the keeping of the Dean and Chapter would, no doubt, supply the name. Behind the lady, in another compartment, is a portion of a figure, in yellow, seated, with the right hand uplifted, the rest gone—perhaps the Blessed Virgin—whose Chapel this might be. This figure, however, does not belong to this place, and has been broken to fill it up. To the eye, returning to the crippled arch of the Eastern Bay of the South Arcade, it seems to have been

ST LAWRENCE CHURCH.
BOURTON ON THE HILL. GLOS.

FONT.

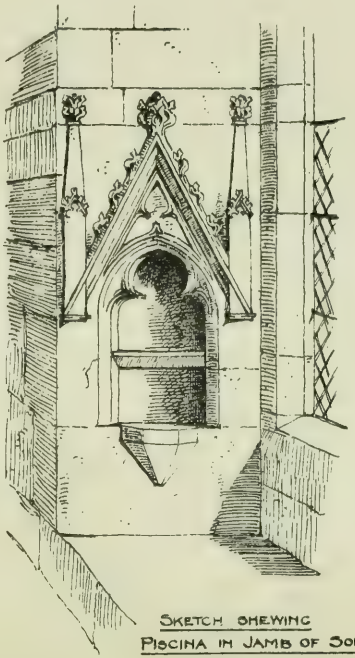
ELEVATION.





PLAN.
Fig. 2.

1" SCALE.



SKETCH SHEWING
PISCINA IN JAMB OF SOUTH
WINDOW IN CHANCEL.
Fig. 3.

E. GUY DAWBER A.R.I.B.A. delt.

abridged, possibly on the reconstruction of the Chancel in the the Decorated period.

Monuments in South Aisle—to Kempe Harward and Robert Devereux Bateson (Rudder)—to Susannah, wife of William Bateson, Esq., second daughter of Edmund Pytts, of Kyre, Warwick, Esq., died October, 1768, aged 29 years; and three of their sons, William, the eldest died, aged 4 years; Robert and Thomas in infancy—*Arms*, Bateson impaling Pytts—to Ann, widow of Robert Devereux Bateson, Esq., one of the daughters of Allen Clyffe, Mathon, Worc., Esq., died March, 1763, aged 59—to Capt. Robert, 2nd son of Robert Devereux and Ann Bateson, died 5th Feb. 1779, aged 46 years—over south door, to William Bateson, Esquire, died 24th Sept. 1819, in the 91st year of his age—*Arms*, Bateson impaling Pytts.

The Bells are six. On the third, recast in 1873: "Reader, thou also must know a Resurrection or Renewal." On the tenor: "I sing to Sermon with a lusty Bome. 1677. That all may com And none may stay at home." In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Henry VIII., this reprise is made from the Rector's income: "In feodum decani pro pulsacione campane in diliculo et ignetegio ab antiquo, sic usitata, per annum, xiij^{s} iiij^{d}." *i.e.* the deacon's fee for ringing the early day bell, 'Angelus' or 'S. Gabriel,' and the Curfew. In the Worcester Diocesan Registry, A.D. 1537, Leonard Savage, Kineton, co. Warwick, is presented for not permitting the bells to be rung "at Curfle' nother the Day bell, prout mos ibidem erat ab antiquo."

The Altar Plate is modern, excepting the cover of a chalice with date 1576. On a flagon, no date, but the inscription, "The gift of Mrs. Bruges."[1] On two silver salvers, "Given to the Church of Bourton-on-the-Hill, Gloucestershire, 1827."

The oldest Register on parchment, well kept, and full of interest, dates, 18th July, 1568, and May 31st, 1805.

If one may speculate on the builders or rebuilders of the church, may the South Arcade be assigned to Margaret de Cormeilles or to predecessors of the Stonors by marriage with her

[1] A descendant of the Goodwins? *Visitation of Glouc.*, 1682-3

successors; *i.e.* if "Henmarsh" in the Inquisition represents, as Fosbrooke thinks, Bourton? Some of the work is, presumably, the Stonors, and some, as the North Aisle window would shew, has been the fruit of piety and zeal of the residents —

INSTITUTIONS, ETC., TO THE CHURCH OF BOURTON.

1294. Monday, the morrow of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Bishop committed to Sir John de Rokeston,[2] clerk, the keeping of the Church of Borton, and of Robert de Farenhull, clerk, for 12 years.

21 Dec. 1307. Reginald le Porter,[3] deacon, Rector of Bourton, had letters dimissory to take the order of priest.

10 Kal. Jan. 1318. Sir Thomas Croker, presented by Sir Robert Harnhulle, Knight.[4]

Unknown. John Lynham.

1 Dec. 1369. Gregory Beye,[5] of Southleye, void by the death of John Lynham, presented by Edmund de Stonor.

Unknown. John Harleigh.

1 Jan. 1431. Sir Thomas David,[6] Chaplain, void by the death of John Hurlegh, presented by Thomas Chaucer (possibly as father-in-law of [William] de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, above), John Golafre (of Batsford and Sarsden), John Sarefield and Thomas Berdesley. [Trustees?]

21 Nov. 1465. Sir Thomas Lowe,[7] Chaplain, by the resignation of Sir John Hurle [Hurlegh]. Presented by Thomas Stonor.

[1] This and the following institutions at Worcester, and other valuable information, are due to the unwearied patience, kindness and zeal of my esteemed friend, the Rev. T. P. Wadley, *Hon. Member of the Society.*

[2] Bp. Giffard's Reg., fol. 380.

[3] Sede Vacante, 28.

[4] Cobham, fol. 7. John Stoner married the second daughter of Sir John Hernshill, of Cheshire.

[5] Lynne, 3.

[6] Pulton, 95.

[7] Carpenter, I., 191.

9 Sept. 1486. Sir Thomas Lowe exchanged with Master John Bayly, Rector of Backsoure (Batsford), with the consent of Sir William Stonor, patron, of Bourton, Robert Handy, gentleman, patron of Batsford.

Unknown. Hugh Kirkhall.

11 Aug. 1492. Master Geoffrey Knyght,[1] B.C.L., on the death of Master Hugh Kirkhall. Presented by Adrian Fortescue, Esq., in right of Anne, his wife, sister and heiress of John, son and heir of Sir W. Stonor, Knight.

16 Nov. 1520. Sir Simon Horne,[2] Chaplain "*to the Parish Church of the Blessed Mary of Burton, near Blockley,*" void by the death of Master Geoffrey Knight. Presented by Adrian Fortescue, by right of Anne, his wife, &c.

22 Oct. 1523. Sir William Denwall,[3] void by the death of Sir Simon Horne. Presented by John Marshall, *alias* Burye.

27 Jan. 1524. Sir Alexander Nowers[4] to the Parish Church of Borton in Henmershe. Presented by Sir John Marshall, *alias* Burye.

4 May, 1471. Thomas Winchcombe was presented to the Church of *Barton* in Henmershe (Barton-on-the-Heath?), void by the resignation of Sir Thomas Stowte.—*Carpenter, II., 51.*

April 6, 1474. Thomas Kyrkeby, Chaplain to the Parish Church of *S. Laurence, of Barton* in Henmersh by resignation of Thomas Winchcomb. By the same patron, *i.e.* William Marshall, *alias* Bury. But Sir Thomas Lowe was now Rector of Bourton-on-the-Hill.

[1] De Gigliis, 9.

Sir Richard Nicholas, Chaplain, taxed - - - - - vj^{s} viij^{d}
Sir Nicholas Langleye, Chaplain, Moreton - - - - vj^{s} viij^{d}
Subsidy Roll, De Gigliis, 96.

[2] Jeronimi, I.

[3] Jeronimi, 18.

He returns his Rectory as worth, for two yard lands arable, xl^{s}, with all other emoluments, xiij^{li}; demised to John Smythe and William Mannynge. Reprizes for curfew and day ringing as above.—*Valor Ecclesiasticus, Henry VIII., p. 452.*

[4] Jeronimi, 18.

6 Sept. 1525.	Sir Edmund Marshall, by the death of Sir Alexander Nowers. Presented by John Marshall.[1]
May, 1540.[2]	
1 June, 1540.[3]	
Sept. 1542.	Henry Bradshaw,[4] void by the death of James Moore. Presented by Thomas Lord Wentworth.
7 April, 1544.	George Nashe void by the resignation of Henry Bradshaw. Same patron.
30 Aug. 1577.	James Beck,[5] by resignation of George Nash. Presented by Richard Palmer, Gent., *pleno jure*. He resigned Notgrove R., 19 Sept. 1577.
27 June, 1617.	Nicholas Cartwright, void by the death of James Beck. Presented by Nicholas Overbury, Esq.
17 Febr. 1638.	Richard Hurst,[6] magister artium, et clericus, hujus Ecclesie minister laudatissimus sub Nicholao Oldisworth, Rectore, sepultus.
1638.	Nicholas Oldisworth.

[1] Jeronimi, 24.

[2] Mention of James Moore, D.D., Rector of Burton-super-Montem, and of Sir Thomas Wentworth, Knight, Lord of Wentworth, patron of Bourton, in a composition between the Vicar of Blockley and the Rector of Bourton for free burial at Bourton *(Bell, 8)*. Bourton was in the Peculiar jurisdiction of Blockley.

[3] Sir William Towneley, Chaplain, witnesses to the will of John Byll, of "Borton o' the Hyll," leaving his goods to wife, Joan and children. Proved at Wykwan, 9th Dec. 1540.

[4] The institutions from Henry Bradshaw to Daniel Kemble are from the Summary of Institutions in the Gloucester Diocesan Registry, pp. 1, 2, 33, 37, 44, 60, 80 *bis*, 99, 124, 158.

[5] He is presented to Church Stanway, 15th April, 1564, by Richard Tracy—to Stanway, 8th June, 1583, by Queen Elizabeth. Above the latter institution is written : "A bond for instituting James Beck unto Burton-on-the-Hill, R. with Moreton Henmarsh, C. 10 July, 1583.' He furnished a Corslet in the Military Assessments, 1613.

[6] Parish Register.

1645.[1] Nicholaus Oldisworth, ille, Regis Alumnus, vel prima in aetate, cum Westmonasterii, tum Oxonii eximius, ille, in utraque Academia, Artium Magister egregie doctus, ille, demum Ecclesiae hujus, annexaeque Capellae parochialis Rector, longe clarissimus, quippe qui amplissimus literarum et virtutum omnium thesaurus, illud, inquam, et loci et saeculi huius Desiderium, mortem obiit apud Willmington, 25to Die Martii Comitatu Warwiciensi: Die 26to sepultum in Cancella Berchestoniensi, 1645.

Nicolao Oldisworth successit Ægidius Oldisworth.[2]

*7 March, 1645. Giles Oldisworth.[3] *Presented by King Chas. I. pro hac vice.

*14 May, 1645. Giles Oldisworth, M.A.,[4] by death of Nicholas Oldisworth.

5 May, 1679. Richard Watkins, void by the death of Giles Oldisworth. Presented by Sir Thomas Overbury. He subscribed, 12 May.

[1] Date of Burial. This extract from Parish Register.

[2] Kindly contributed, with other information, by the Rev. F. Farrer, the present Rector.

* Thus in the Gloucester Book of Institutions.

[3] Giles is said by Anthony à Wood to be a son of Robert Oldisworth and Muriel, his wife, daughter of Sir Nicholas, and sister of Sir Thomas, Overbury, If so, he was brother of Nicholas Oldesworth. He was born at Coln Rogers, 1619; was scholar of Trinity College, from Westminster, 1639; was dispossessed, and forced from Cambridge for his loyalty, and retired to Oxford, where by virtue of the Chancellor's letters, he was made M.A. He wrote seven works given by Anthony à Wood. In "The stone rolled away" is inserted a sermon preached by him at the funeral of Mrs. Dorothy, wife of Michael Rutter, Esq. (dying in childbed), above: and a visitation sermon, at Campden, on 2 Cor. vii., 1662. He died 24th Nov. 1678, and was buried in the chancel of Bourton-on-the-Hill.

[4] "10th April, 1659. Thomas, son of Giles Oldisworth, Rector of this Parish, and of Mrs. Margaret (Warren), his wife, was baptized." So he may not have been ejected.

20 Febr. 1707.	Augustine Goodwin, void by the death of Richard Watkins. Presented by Thomas Durham, Gent.,[1] and Ann, his wife, daughter and coheir of John Goodwin, of Old Combe, Campden, *pleno jure.*
23 May, 1734.	Daniel Kemble, B.D.,[2] on death of Augustine Goodwin. Presented by Thomas Kemble, Esq.
1761.	William Mayde. Presented by Thomas Kemble.
1768.	Matthew Bloxam. By the same.
1784.	Joseph Martin. By Margaret Kemble.
27 June, 1810.	Samuel Wilson Warnford, LL.D.,[3] on his own petition.
22 Feb. 1855.	Robert Jarrett, M.A., void by the death of Dr. Warneford, on his own petition; buried 22nd July, 1882.
——— 1882.	Robert Mitford Taylor, void by the death of the above. Presented by the Earl of Redesdale.
28 Oct. 1887.	Frederic Farrer, M.A. Presented by A. B. ffreeman Mitford, Esq., C.B., the present patron.

[1] "Mr. Thomas Deram, Gent., married Mrs. Ann Goodwing, 7 Febr. 1695."—*Bourton Register.* Augustine was a son of John Goodwin, of Norton, born Sep. 15th; baptised Sept. 16th, 1668, at Weston-sub-Egge. He married 28th Feb. 1682, Joyce (dau. of Robert and Eleanor Bateson), widow of Charles Yate, of Campden. He was buried 7th June, 1733. For his children, see *Campden Register.*

Robert Bateson, of Milton, Oxon, son of William Bateson, of Bourton-on-the-Hill; baptised at Burford, 1621; married Eleanor, daughter of Robt. Austen, Horsley, Oxon; died at Moreton Henmarsh, and was buried at Bourton. Joyce married, 1st, Charles Yates, of Campden, and was buried Sept. 7th, 1728.

[2] Daniel and Thomas were sons of Thomas and Elizabeth Kemble, of Tewkesbury, and nephews of Daniel Kemble, Esq., of the same. Thomas married Margaret, daughter of John Martin, of Overbury, and Judith, daughter of William Bromley, builder of Ham Court, and Judith [Hanbury] his wife. John was son of John Martin, a celebrated banker in Lombard Street, and M.P. for Tewkesbury. Judith married, secondly, Thomas Bland, Esq., who succeeded to Ham Court, to whom passed in right of his wife, as devisee under Mrs. Kemble's will, the patronage of Bourton.—Nash, *Worcestershire*, II., 445; Rudge's *Gloucestershire.*

[3] Of his munificent aid in respect of our churches so many have been, and will be, large and grateful recipients. His name is also immortalized by the charities which bear his name.

Connected with the Rectors is the Rectory. A terrier at Gloucester, dated 15th June, 1584, notes a dwelling house, barn, gatehouse, garden and orchard, in a close containing, by estimation, two acres; lands in *Loxam* furlong, under *Pilsham;* in the upper part of *Rissam;* in *Whitland Green;* in *Chilwelle* furlong; in *Fulpit;* in *Blacken Hill;* in *Hollowstreat* furlong; in *Saltredge, alias* the furlong beneath the *Plashe;* in *Dousell* (or *Donsell*) Hill; in *Plasheway;* in Gospels . . . . . ,. . [1]; in *Honny* furlong; in *Whitcroft* butts; in long and short *Gostell;* in *Ashlinge* furlong; in *Brod eye* furlong; in *Benall Knap;* in *Rithill* furlong; in *Homer* (Homeward?) Standell; in *Sharpness* furlong; in *Northill,* "by the way ledinge to the quarre"; in *Brache* furlong; *Gally* furlong; at *Comshouse;* in *Coms* furze; in *Grenwiche* Hill; in *Grenishe* Hill; in South *Sexmede;* in *Rushdale,* etc. The lands border on John Gibbes, Thomas Palmer, John Smith, William Stevens, John Boughton, John Manninge, William Paxford, Nicholas Hodgkins, John Baylyes, Richard Palmer, Thomas *Lampet.* There is a pasture in common for 12 beasts, 6 horses, 200 sheep; also all manner of tithes, "as well personall as prediall, excepte a certayn tithe called the Bore tithe."

[Signed] Thos. Smith, Edmund Dummulton, Churchwardens, X their marke. John Boughton, John Gibbes, X his marke.

Other field names appear in other documents, Cool's piece, Braten furlong, Mortar-pitts, Pebblestone Grove, Kits, or Kils, down bottom, Scrubbs, Crabtree furlong, Blindwell furlong, Fenhill quarter, Lambert's, Gibbes, Hornesmeadow, Millway furlong, Kitespiece, Leather ground, Thickleather cover, Kinsonwell Lays, Elkington Cut, Bateson's Upper Grounds, Watergap furlong, Rev. Thos. Williams' ground, Lady Harn.

A later paper, without date, states, that John Rutter, of Campden, did give £10 to the poor; it is as yet in the hands of his executor, Michael Rutter, Esq., Bourton-on-the-Hill. "Likewise we are told that Mr. Batson, in Burton, did give £5 for the relief of the said poor yet in the hands of Sir Littleton Osbaldeston, in Woodstock, his executor. Likewise the interest of £10 a

[1] The Terrier is torn in places.

year given by Nicholas Hodgkins, in Burton ; but Nicholas Hodgkins, in Burton, pretends ignorance of any such thinge. We have neither Schoole nor Hospitall,[1] in our Parish."

[Signed] William Garden, Curate.
John Dumbleton, Thomas Braine, Churhwardens.

[1] A retreat for aged men and women, consisting of four tenements, was established by Dr. Warneford in 1831. Each inmate receives £20 yearly.

Some idea of the property of the Palmers in Bourton and in Moreton, and of their disposal of it, may be found in Feet of Fines. in the Record Office, which, for convenience, have been reduced into the following tabular form :—

Date.	Grantor.	Grantee.	M.	B.	C.	T.	G.	O.	L.A.	M.A	P.A.	F.H.A C.P.	Pl.	£
Easter Term, 33 Hen. VIII. 1542.	Henry Morgan & Anne, wife.	Robert Palmer	2						140	40	100		B.B.M.	120
Easter Term, 7 Edw. VI. 1553	Edmund Bury,[1] *G.*	William Underehylle, remr to Elizab. dau. of Edw. Underhylle, (*G*) deceased.	2		3	4	8		100	60	300	200 and 10a. wood	O.N.M. *C.* B.M. H. in A.	
Mich. Term, 1-2 Eliz. 1558-9	Richard Wyman	Robert Palmer (*G*)				4			150	20	40	40	M.B.	60
Mich. Term, 1565	Rob. Adeane and Maggery, his wife Wm. Adeane and Margaret, his wife.	Richard Palmer (*G*)	½				1		30	10	20	40	M.	40
S. Hilary Term 1569-70	Joan Hopper, and Frances, his wife	Richard Palmer (*G*)	2			1	1		150	20	10	10	M. *en*[2] *le Mershe*	50
Easter Term, 15 Eliz. 1573.	Rob. Eddon and Alice, wife.	John Palmer	1				1		5					40

[1] Edmund Bury, of Barton-on-the-Heath, son of John Bury, *alias* Marshall (who presented to the Rectory of Bourton), and of . . . . daughter of Nowers, of Tackley, Oxon, married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Underhill, of Etington, co. Warwick. The above transaction may have been part of the marriage settlement.

[2] *Moreton en le Mershe.*

Abbreviations—M. Messuage ; B. Barn ; C. Cottage ; T. Toft ; G. Garden ; L.A. Land, acres ; M.A. Meadow acres ; P.A. Pasture acres ; F.H.A.C.P. Furze Heath, acres, common of pasture ; Pl. Place ; B. Bourton-on-the-Hill ; *B.* Batysore, Batysoreyndys (Batsford) ; *G.* Caldecote; M. Moreton Henmarsh ; O.N.M. Old and New Morton ; H. in A. Henley in Arden ; E. Esquire ; G. Gentleman.

Date.	Grantor.	Grantee.	M.	B.	C.	T.	G.	O.	L.A.	M.A	P.A.	F.H.A. C.P.	Pl.	£
M. Term, 18-19 Eliz., 1575-6	Rob. Maunsell, *alias* Smythe.	Richard Palmer (*G*)	1				1		40	10	40	40	B. M.	40
Easter Term, 29 Eliz. 1587.	Rich. Palmer, E. John Palmer, *G.*	Will. Morrice, sen. and jun.	1	1			1	1	40	12	6	6	B. M. *C.*	80
Easter Term, 29 Eliz. 1587	The same.	Richard & Edmund Cannynge.	1				1	1	15	3	2	4	M. *C.*	100
		Anne Townesend, widow.	1	1			1	1	25	6	3	3		
Easter Term, 29 Eliz. 1587	The same.	Will. Castell							10	3	1	3		
		Rich. Gybbes	1				1	1	20	7	3	5	M. C.	80
		Jno. Lane, sen. and jun.	1	1			1	1	50	10	8	6	M. B. *C.*	80
———	The same.	Thomas & Jno. Meeke; Wm. and Jno. Brayne; John Alye; John and Rich. Owen; Robert Phelippes; John Chamberlayne, and Anne, his wife; Thomas Phippes; John Tyllyver, and Jane, his wife; Roger Spencer and Edmund Smythe.	11				11	11			5	11	M.	200
Easter Term, 29 Elizab.	Rich. Palmer, E. John Palmer, *G.*	John Freeman	1	1			1	1	20	10	4	6	M. *C.*	80
	The same.	Wm. Nicolles	4[1]	1		1[1]	3	3	50	5	10	6	M. *C.*	80
Easter Term, 30 Eliz.	The same.	Wm. Freeman	2	2			3	2	50	22		2 1 A. wood	B.	40

[1] With these messuages, *a dove-house.*

Date.	Grantor.	Grantee.	M.	B.	C.	T.	G.	O.	L.A.	M. A	P.A.	F.H.A. c.p.	Pl.	£
Hilary Term, 32 Eliz., 20 Jan. 1589-90.	The same.	John Gibbes Thos. Smythe Thos. Lampette [1]	2 1 1				2 1 1	2 1 1	70 23½ 23½	10 2½ 2½		 c.p. c.p.	B.	80
6 Oct. 1590	The same.	Wm. Freeman	1	2			2	2	50	10	12		B. *Henmarsh*	20
Easter Term, 1596	Joan Freeman, widow; Wm. Freeman; Robert Freeman	Edw. Palmer (*G*) Thos. Warne (*G*)	5	3	2		5	5	120	15	20	10	B. M.	120
Easter Term, 1598	Will. Bury,[2] *G.*	Rich. Antony and Will. Freeman							30	4	6		B.	60
6 Oct. 1605	Francis Shaw and Eliz., wife.	Anthony and Humphrey Freeman.	1				1	1	20	4	5	1	B.	41

[1] A John Lampett was presented to the Rectory of Seizincote by Edward Grevil, Esq. 1592. The name appears in the Parish Register of Bourton.
[2] Son of the above Edmund, and grandson of John Bury; all of Barton-on-the-Heath.—*Harl. Soc., XII.*

LITTLE COMPTON: ITS CHURCH & MANOR HOUSE.

By the Rev. JOHN H. KILLICK, M.A., *Vicar of Little Compton.*

In preparing the present Paper I have not been able to lay my hands upon many sources of information relating to the history of my parish of Little Compton, but I will begin by expressing my indebtedness to the late Mr. Marah's book, entitled "The Life and Times of Bishop Juxon," with a history of his parish of Little Compton, from which I have gleaned some of the particulars which I have ventured to introduce into this Paper, and which contains, I believe, one of the best accounts that has ever been published of the subjects upon which I am privileged to address the members of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society on the present occasion. Respecting the geographical position and historical account of Little Compton, I gather from a Topographical Dictionary published between forty and fifty years ago some of the following items :—

Little Compton is a parish in the Union of Chipping Norton, Upper Division of the Hundred of Deerhurst, co. Gloucester, though locally in the Hundred of Chadlington, co. Oxford, 4½ miles from Chipping Norton, containing, at the Census in 1841, a population of 307 persons. Within the limits of this parish is a spot of land on which a stone is placed, known as "Four Shires' Stone," which marks the junction of the four counties of Warwick, Gloucester, Oxford and Worcester. The parish comprises by computation some 1600 acres. The soil is chiefly clay, and rocky. The Church, dedicated to St. Denis, is a small structure, with a quaint old saddleback tower, containing five bells. The living is in the gift of the Dean and Canons of Christ Church, Oxford, and is of the annual value of £66. The tithes were commuted for land and a money payment in 1794. The Manor House was formerly the property and residence of Bishop Juxon.

A short distance out of the parish—in the adjoining parish of Little Rollright—are those curious, antique and interesting relics called the King's Stones, or Rollright Stones, supposed to be the remains of a Druidical temple; they are set up in the form of a circle, the diameter of which is 35 yards, and are situated at the extreme verge of the county of Oxford, bordering on Warwickshire, and vary in height from 7 feet downwards; at the distance of about 80 yards, in the latter county, is a stone standing alone, 8½ feet high, 7 feet broad, and 12 inches in thickness, called the King's Stone; and at the distance of about 300 yards from the large circle there are also five stones called the Whispering Knights.

It may be noticed here that since the above accounts were published the following alterations have taken place:—
(1) Little Compton was transferred some years ago for civil purposes from the county of Gloucester to the hundred of Kineton, in the South Division of Warwickshire. (2) That the annual value of the living has been considerably augmented. (3) That the population of the parish at the recent census in the spring of this year (1891) was 475. (4) That the old Church was almost entirely taken down nearly 30 years ago by the then Vicar, Rev. W. H. Marah, I believe against the wishes of the majority of the parishioners, who would have preferred to restore the ancient Church, which though much smaller than the present more modern edifice, was, and still would be, large enough for the requirements of the parish. Fortunately the ancient tower was allowed to remain. Mr. Marah was a remarkable man, somewhat eccentric and self-willed, and he and the parishioners did not always agree, but he was shrewd and far-sighted, and very energetic in obtaining money to carry out his designs, and he succeeded in obtaining the necessary funds for rebuilding the church—the name of which he chose to change, for reasons which I have never heard satisfactorily explained—from S. Denis to S. Peter and S. Paul—and also for building the present vicarage house, a commodious and suitable residence for the Incumbent, and erecting a handsome School-room on the Vicarage Glebe, to which he gave the name

of Archbishop's Juxon's School. This School, which was opened with great ceremony about 25 years ago, was, as I think, very unwisely taken down in the late Vicar's time. It would have been very useful for Sunday School and other parochial purposes.

Let me next speak more particularly about the Church and Manor House at Little Compton. The antiquity of the old Church, which, as I have said, was dedicated to S. Denis, most probably extended into Saxon times. The massive old Tower of a saddle-back shape, the appearance of an old Lady Chapel in the belfry, the old construction of the Church before it was added to, the clerestory of later age superadded, and the quaint old windows in the Chancel, all bespeak very primitive architecture.

To show that these statements are not mere guess work, Mr. Marah records a very curious story or legend in connection with the old Church and Parish of Little Compton, which he had translated from some quaint old Latin bearing date 1652, which relates that St. Augustine came to preach at Little Compton. The legend is too long to quote at length as it occupies 3 or 4 pages in his book, so I would refer my readers to pages 102, 103, 104, and 105.

Respecting the aspect and condition of the Parish Church on the occasion of Mr. Marah's first visit on April 29th, 1857—the date of his presentation to the living of Little Compton, he thus writes: "It certainly didn't present any striking features of attraction. The appearance of the glebe, on which the Vicarage House now stands, was the picture of desolation, and afforded an inviting pursuit to the parishioners for fuel and pasture. It seemed noboby's property and everbody's liberty. The lands were overgrown with stinging nettles perfumed with fœtid odours." He also gave a most discouraging account of the condition of the moral aspect of the place, and of the Parish Church. Concerning the latter he writes: "The building seemed in the last verge of decay. The north wall was out of the perpendicular, and only preserved its equilibrium by the assistance of iron bars and pinions. The interior presented a range of old pews so decayed as to be all falling in, and the stone floors, especially in the Chancel, were so damp and wet that it was almost dangerous to stand on

them long for the performance of Divine Service without the assistance of matting. On August the 13th, 1863, the Foundation Stone of the new Church was laid by the late Lord Redesdale, and consecrated by the present Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Dr. Ellicott), on May 17th, 1864. In the library at the Stanhope Rectory (the residence of the Bishop of Richmond) there are two books of special interest—the one is an early copy of the Eikōn Basilike, or the Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty, in his solitudes and his sufferings. The King being Charles I., who was so closely connected with, and appreciated in, the parish of Little Compton from the circumstance that his devoted friend and chaplain, William Juxon, then Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, owned, and resided for many years at the Manor House there. This book consists of Devout Meditation on the King's Misfortunes. We are told that fifty editions of this valuable work were published at home and abroad within two years of Charles' execution. The book, it is said, made a great sensation, and even to this day its authorship is a subject of dispute and controversy to the learned and curious. The other is a folio volume entitled "Basilica," or the works of the King, containing a verbatim report of the trial of Charles I., and embellished with some striking and characteristic portraits. On the cover of this latter book are affixed iron hasps, by which, doubtless, it was secured with chains in the parish church, to which it was presented in 1663. These two books were, in all probability, the gift of Isaac Basire, a former Rector of Stanhope, and chaplain to King Charles I. The name of Isaac Basire is only known to those who take the trouble and interest to follow the by-paths of the history of the Church of England. Yet his story is interesting as throwing a side-light on the events of those troublous times, in which the good man's life was passed. I have introduced his name into my present Paper owing to the circumstances that he, like the former occupant of the interesting old Manor House at Little Compton, of which I am about to say something before I close my remarks, was likewise a chaplain of the same pious and ill-used King. But to return to my subject. I mentioned a moment ago that our present church at Little Compton was consecrated by

Bishop Ellicott on May 17th, 1864. In the *Oxford Chronicle*, of May 21st, 1864, the following particulars of Little Compton Church and Manor House, in addition to the detailed account of the consecration ceremony, were published:—The fine old Manor House, which is only 6 feet distant at one point from the church, and in which Archbishop Juxon formerly lived, is now the property and residence of James Hardbidle, Esq. At the time when Juxon lived at the Manor House he was Bishop of London, and spiritual adviser of King Charles I. in his last moments on the scaffold. This prelate, of whom there is an excellent portrait in the entrance hall at the Manor House, copied from the one in the hall at St. John's College, Oxford, resided at Little Compton during the troublous times which followed the death of the King, and from the monuments in the church, chiefly flat stones placed along the floor of the nave, we gather that his family continued to reside there for several years after the Bishop's death. The Manor House itself is in good preservation; many of the rooms retain their ancient and beautifully-carved wainscotting. In the old hall, in addition to the portrait of Bishop Juxon, to which I have already referred, there is an oil painting of his wife, Lady Fane, and there is also a collection of old chairs, a handsome old dining table, swords, armour, a black-letter bible, and other curiosities more or less identified with the early and present history of the mansion, but the bible known as Bishop Juxon's bible—the one used by him as chaplain in his ministrations to the unfortunate King—is in the possession of Miss Whitmore Jones, the owner of Chastleton House, who has also some other valuable and choice relics of the King. The King's chair is now carefully preserved and protected in the Cottage Hospital at Moreton-in-Marsh. The original Gateway from the high road still exists, and a portion of one of the rows of trees—fine yews—which furnished an avenue to the house, is still standing.

The old Church consisted of Nave, Chancel and Tower, the last-mentioned alone has been preserved. The Tower is of the 14th century, but has had buttresses added at the angles, of later workmanship and of poor design. It contains a peal of five

bells, which have been re-hung, and is covered with a high pitched roof, gabled on the north and south sides. The old Nave was originally of Norman work, but it had been partly rebuilt, and had had windows inserted in nearly every subsequent style. It had a flat roof covered with lead, and a double tier of windows, the upper ones resembling clerestory, and being probably of the 16th century workmanship. The Chancel Arch was of horse-shoe shape, with Norman semi-columns of poor design. The chancel was of 14th century character, and the old windows of the south side, which are very quaint, have been re-used, in fact the south wall of the new Chancel may be said to have been rebuilt as it originally stood. The north side and east end were of late character, and of no pretension. The Font is of plain 13th century work, is in good preservation, and has been kept, and is still used, in the church. The new Church extends eastward about 30 feet beyond the old one; and the Nave has been lengthened to that extent, and is about 20 inches wider. The Church now consists of a Nave, Chancel, Tower, South Aisle, with an Organ Chamber, and Vestry on the North side of the Chancel, and is of the 14th century character throughout. The new South Aisle is two bays in length, and has two arches, with stone columns dividing it from the Nave, with the increased length of which it corresponds. The whole of the masonry is of local stone, and the Church is seated with open timber benches of a plain substantial character. The seats in the Chancel are of pitch pine, and the Holy table is of old oak, with panels handsomely carved in symbolic forms. The Pulpit and Credence table are of Bath stone. In the Tower there are five bells, one somewhat larger than the rest: of these, unfortunately one is cracked, and causes a jar in harmony when rung. This is a great pity, for it might have been recast at a comparatively small expense when all the bells were re-hung. This peal appears to have been hung in the year 1720, as this date is inscribed on one of the bells, but it seems as if one of them had been recast in 1810. The inscriptions are the following:—

1. GOD PRESERVE THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.
2. ROBERT COWLEY, CHURCHWARDEN, 1810.
3. PEACE AND GOOD NEIGHBOURHOOD.
4. RUDDON, GLOUCESTER.
5. ABRAHAM RUDHALL; BELL-FOUNDER, 1720

At the time of the re-opening of the Church Mr. Marah undertook to provide a new Communion Service for the Church, which was fitted in an oak case with a lid, on which was fastened a brass plate bearing an inscription—"The new Church accommodates upwards of 300 worshippers."

WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD.

By the Rev. C. H. O. DANIEL, M.A.
Master of the College.

In the year 1883 the Society of this College celebrated the six hundredth anniversary of an existence of Protean changes. The event which it commemorated was one of much significance in the annals of the University, in the history of a great monastic Order, and in the chronicles of one of its greatest Houses.

It was in 1283, on St. John the Evangelist's Day, that John Giffarde, Baron of Brimsfield, being present himself in St. Peter's Abbey at Gloucester, the venerable Father, Abbot Reginald de Hamus, presiding, founded Gloucester College, "extra muros Oxoniae," as a house of study for thirteen monks of that abbey, and appropriated for their support the revenues of the Church of Chipping Norton. Each monk was allowed 15 marks per annum. The Giffardes were a powerful Anglo-Norman family. But in spite of their importance their pedigree seems to be involved in obscurity. Mr. Planché, sometime Somerset Herald, complained that he devoted much of the leisure of nearly thirty years to its elucidation, but in vain. The name, he suggests, must have been a soubriquet (as shown by the absence of the local *de*). The word is explained to come from Giffe, a cheek (whence giffee, o.f. for a slap on the cheeks) and to mean a person with fat cheeks, and so is applied to a cook. Be this as it may, the first of the race we are to take account of was Walter Giffard, Seignieur of Longueville, in Caux, in Normandy. This Walter accompanied William in his descent upon England, contributing to the fleet 30 vessels and 100 men. The Duke, we are told, was mounted in the battle on a horse which Walter Giffarde had brought him as a present from a Spanish King. William gave him the Earldom of

Buckingham, and entrusted him, amongst others, with the compilation of the Domesday Survey. He died about 1084, leaving a son Walter to succeed him in the earldom, and another son William, who was chancellor to William Rufus, and subsequently Bishop of Winchester.

Walter Giffarde had two kinsmen (brothers or nephews—Mr. Planché is not certain which), Berenger Giffarde of Fonthill, and Osbert Giffarde of Brimsfield. Osbert Giffarde had a son named Elias. Elias had two sons, Elias and Gilbert: from the former descended the line of the Giffardes of Brimsfield, from the latter that of the Giffardes of Chillington. There were also Giffardes of Twyford, descended from Osbert, brother of Elias of Brimsfield, and Giffardes of Worcester and Weston-under-Edge, descended from Hugh, another brother. They, I learn from Mr. Planché, bore as arms *six torteaux*, and these arms are still used for the see of Worcester, which was held by his son, Bishop Godfrey, in the 14th century.

We have thus Giffardes of Fonthill, of Brimsfield, of Chillington, of Twyford, and of Weston-under-Edge. To return to Brimsfield. Osbert, the kinsman of Walter, held in the time of the Conqueror, amongst other Lordships, four in Gloucestershire, of which Brimsfield was one. In the person of his son Elias, the Barons of Brimsfield first came into touch with St. Peter's Abbey. The Giffords were *givers* (an etymology which I fear we must repudiate in favour of the Norman fat cheeks). Elias, in 1086, gave part of his woods, with three borderers, to St. Peter's Abbey at Gloucester; and again in 1121 he with his wife dedicated—*super altare posuerunt*—his lands of Bocholt *scilicett et silvam et planum*. His son and successor, Elias, was also a benefactor to the Abbey, upon which he bestowed the Lordship of Cronham (Cranham), the Church of St. Mary at Boyton, the Church of St. George at Orcheston, and the Chapel of St. Andrew, at Winterborne, with the lands and tithes thereto belonging. He himself assumed the vows, and, as Dugdale phrases it, was shorn a monk in St Peter's Abbey, upon which occasion it was, *quondam monochatum accepit*, that he made gifts of the Lordship of Cronham. The son,

however, exchanged Cronham in return for lands at Willingwyke. We may now pass on to the time of Henry III., when John Giffarde, with whom I began my notes, was representative of the family at Brimsfield. He was a man of much account: Governor of St. Briavel's Castle, and of the Forest of Dean.[1] He fought against the King in the Battle of Lewes, but subsequently earned his pardon by fighting for the King at Evesham. But the Baron of Brimsfield won distinction not only as an ambidexter warrior, but as an impetuous wooer. If he was a "Giffard," he knew how to take. In the 55th year of Henry's reign, Maud Longespe, widow of the Earl of Salisbury's son, made complaint to the King that John Giffarde had carried her off by force from her Manor House at Kaneford, and taken her to his Castle at Brimsfield, and there kept her in restraint. He made excuse that it had not been against the lady's will; coy she may have been, but willing; and the end was that the King took a fine of 300 marks for his marrying her without the royal licence, and so condoned the act, upon condition that the lady made no further complaint. So "they lived happily ever after." It was for the health of this lady's soul, as well as for his own and his ancestors', that John Giffarde, in 1283, founded the cell in the suburbs of Oxford, for the monks of St. Peter's Abbey, under the name of Gloucester Hall. To complete the chronicle of John Giffarde, I may here mention that he with others of the nobility was in the expedition of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, against Llewellyn, Prince of Wales: was made Governor to Prince Edward during the King's absence in Flanders, and that he died (27 Edward I.) at Boyton, and was buried at Malmesbury, another of the great Benedictine houses. Antony Wood, making a strange confusion, represents him to have been engaged against the Spencers, Edw. II.'s favourites, and put to death by them in 1321, "drawn by horses through the City of Gloucester, and then without the gates hanged on a gallows." This was, in fact, the fate of his son John, while John the father died peaceably, and was buried at Malmesbury. Gloucester Hall or College was the first *monastic* College established in Oxford. It preceded by nine years the final establishment of Merton College; by three years the code drawn up

[1] In 1261. (See Trans., III., p. 361.—Ed.)

for the government of the Uuiversity Hall; by one year the Statutes of Balliol, statutes which themselves preceded the establishment of students upon the present site of that College. It differed from Durham College, the foundation of which soon followed, in admitting no regular students—none but monks of the Benedictine Order. Before long, the other great Benedictine Houses, whose students at Oxford had hitherto been placed in scattered lodgings, recognised the advantage of bringing them together under common discipline and a common Regent. They obtained permission therefore of the Abbey of Gloucester to share with them their house at Oxford, and to add to the existing buildings several lodgings, each appropriated to the use of one or more of the Benedictine Houses. The building made over in the first place by Giffarde had been originally the mansion of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, for whom it had the advantage of being close to the Royal Palace of Beaumont, in Magdalen parish. His arms in Antony Wood's time were still to be seen "fairly depicted in the window of the Common Hall. It subsequently passed into the hands of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, and was exempt from Episcopal and archidiaconal jurisdiction "*a tempore cujus memoria non existit.*" It was from the Hospitallers that Giffarde obtained the house which he made over to Gloucester Abbey. In 1290 or 1291, upon the agreement to admit other Benedictine Houses to a joint use of the College, the founder purchased four other tenements, and, obtaining a license in mortmain from Edw. I., conveyed the whole to the prior and monks. Thereupon was held at Abingdon a General Chapter of the Abbots and Priors of the Order, at which provisions were made for regulating the new buildings to be erected and for providing contributions towards the expenses, while rules were drawn up for the conduct of the College. All Benedictines of the Province of Canterbury were to have right of admission to "our common House in Stockwell-street," and all students were to have an equal vote in the election of the Prior. The strife and canvassing which took place over these popular elections in time arose to such a head as to create scandal in the Order, to remedy which it was decreed by a General Chapter that the author of any such disturbance

should be punished by degradation and perpetual excommunication. The monks themselves, differing in this respect from the subsequent foundation of Durham College, were not permitted to study or be conversant with secular students ; they were bound to attend divine service on solemn and festival days ; to observe disputations constantly in term-time ; to have divinity disputations once a week, and the presiding moderator was endowed with a salary of £10 per annum out of the common stock of the Order, which provided also for the expenses of their Exercises and Degrees in the matter of fees and entertainments. It was the duty of the Prior to enforce all regulations and to see that the monks preached often, as well in the Latin as in the vulgar tongue, for while some were students in philosophy, some in theology, others there were who were simply training as preachers. They were to confess to no monk of another House ; never to mix with seculars *sine socio commonacho*, monk students were not to plead before the Chancellor or other secular judges. It was further jealously stipulated that in their exercises they should "answer" under one of their own Order—a trace of the struggle between the religious orders and the University which arose to such a height in the case of the various orders of Friars. In the year 1298 a great and notable gathering, the historian of St. Peter's Abbey tells us, took place at Gloucester College, when William Brock, a monk of that Abbey, proceeded to his Degree in Divinity. He was the first of the Benedictine Order in England to do so. Lawrence Honsum, a monk, also of Gloucester, answered him in the "vespers." There were present the Abbot, monks, prior, obedientaries, and claustral clerks of St. Peter's, in Gloucester. An hundred noblemen and esquires came with them, all horsed. There were present the Abbots of Westminster, Reading, Abingdon, Evesham, and Malmesbury, as also most of the Bishops of the Canterbury province of the same Order. These all, as well them that were absent as present, sending in their several gifts to the inceptor to entertain that great retinue, did consummate the solemnity with great credit and repute both for the renown of this College and the whole Order.

Few structures carry their history and their purpose upon their face in a more obvious or more picturesque manner than do the still surviving remains of the old Bendictine colony. Each settlement possessed a lodging of its own "divided (though all for the most part adjoining to each other) by particular roofs, partitions, and various forms of structure, and known from each other, like so many colonies and tribes (though one at once inhabited by several Abbies), by terms and rebuses that are depicted and cut in stone over each door." These words of Antony á Wood are a perfect description of the cottage-like row of tenements which still form the south side of the present quadrangle, and partially apply to the small southern quadrangle, though many of the features have been in this case obliterated. But on the north side all that now remains of what is represented in Loggan's well-known print, is the ancient doorway of the College, surmounted by three shields (of which two bear respectively the arms of Ramsey Abbey and of St. Alban's), and the adjoining buildings, which are of the same character as the tenements on the south side. The first lodgings on the north side were allotted, we are told, to the monks of Abingdon; the next were built for the monks of Gloucester. These in later days became the lodgings of the Principal of Gloucester Hall, an arrangement followed in the position of the present lodgings of the Provost of the College. On the five lodgings of the south side one may see still in place the shields described by A. Wood. Over the door at the S.W. corner is a shield bearing a mitre over a comb and tun, with the letter W (interpreted as a rebus of Walter Compton, or else in reference to Winchcombe Abbey). Another shield bears three cups surmounted by a ducal coronet. Between these is a small niche. The chambers next in order were assigned by tradition to Westminster Abbey; and the central lodgings of the five were "partly for Ramsey and Winchcombe Abbies." Over the doors of the easternmost lodgings again are shields, the first bearing a "griffin segreant," the other a plain cross (Norwich). Another plain shield remains *in situ* in the small quadrangle; one has been removed and built into the garden wall of the present kitchen.

A. Wood gives a list of the Abbeys which sent their monks to Gloucester College. These were Gloucester, Glastonbury, St. Albans, Tavistock, Burton, Chertsey, Coventry, Evesham, Eynsham, St. Edmondsbury, Winchcombe, Abbotsbury, Michelney, Malmesbury, Rochester, Norwich. It may be presumed that other Houses of the Order made use of the place, among those whose representatives were present at the Chapter held at Salisbury the day after the interment of Queen Eleanor, 1291, when the Prior for the time being, Henry de Helm, was invested with the Government of the College, and provision was made for the election of his successor. But the Priories of Stokes and St. Neot's which were to have contributed refused to do so, and denied any interest in the College, on the ground that they were subject to the Abbey of Bec, in Normandy. We find scattered here and there passing notices which illustrate the relations between the Abbeys and their Oxford "studium." Thus Thomas de la Mare, 30th Abbot of St. Albans, 1349—1396, gives 40 *lib.*, *et amplius pro-reparatione domorum et utensilium scholarium Oxonia*. He was a man of magnificent expenditure. He spent on 3 mitres £100. John, the 31st Abbot died 1401, gives £138 3s. 2d. *pro structra nom edificii Oxoniæ*. He also contributes to the building of a chapel 40s. William Heyworth, 32nd Abbot, completes the *Domus Scholarium Oxoniæ* begun by his predecessor *sumptuosius quam oportuit*. Again Simon de Eye, Abbot of Ramsey, writes to the Regent (the Prior), complaining "*audivimus, sed certe non per fratres vestros ibidem existentes*" (the good Abbot is unwilling to set the brethren by the ears), that divers of the Society had encroached upon the Chamber built by the Abbot, and intended to be, but not carried on to the "muros." Now, the vacant ground thus encroached upon, the Abbot had reserved for the Prior—*sicut debuimus*.

We do not at this early date find any mention of Refectory or Chapel, except for the contribution of Abbot John. The parish church was no doubt, as in other cases, frequented by the student-monks for divine services, but they also had licence to have a portable altar. It was not till 1420, in the prioralty of Thomas

de Ledbury, that John Whethamsted, Abbot of St. Albans, formerly Prior, contributed largely to the erection of a chapel, which stood upon the site of the present chapel. Its ruins are figured in Loggan's sketch. He built also a library on the south side of the chapel, at right angles to it, the five windows of which, giving upon Stockwell Street, are also depicted in Loggan's sketch. Upon this library he bestowed many books both of his own collection and of his own writing; and at his instance Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, beside other benefactions gave many books to the library. He augmented the pensions of the scholars by 13s. 4d. each. The benefits conferred by Wethamsted were such that a Convocation of the Order styled him "chief benefactor and second founder of the College." One other name, a name of local interest, we find associated with the place as its benefactor—that of Sir Peter Besils, of Abingdon. Thus a century of dignified prosperity was assured to the College, during which period it numbered among its *alumni* John Langden, Bishop of Rochester; Thomas Mylling, Abbot of Westminster, and afterwards Bishop of Hereford; Antony Richer, Abbot of Eynsham, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff; Thomas Walsingham, the chronicler.

The dissolution of the monasteries, of course, involved the suppression of the Benedictine College; Whethamsted's Chapel and Library were reduced to a ruin; and the books "were partly lost and purchased, and partly conveyed to some of the other College Libraries," where Wood professes to have seen them "still bearing their donor's name."

Thus closed the first chapter of this History, and the relations of Gloucester College to the Abbey of St. Peter's.

LADIES' COSTUME IN THE MIDDLE AGES AS REPRESENTED ON THE MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES AND BRASSES.

By MARY ELLEN OAKELEY.

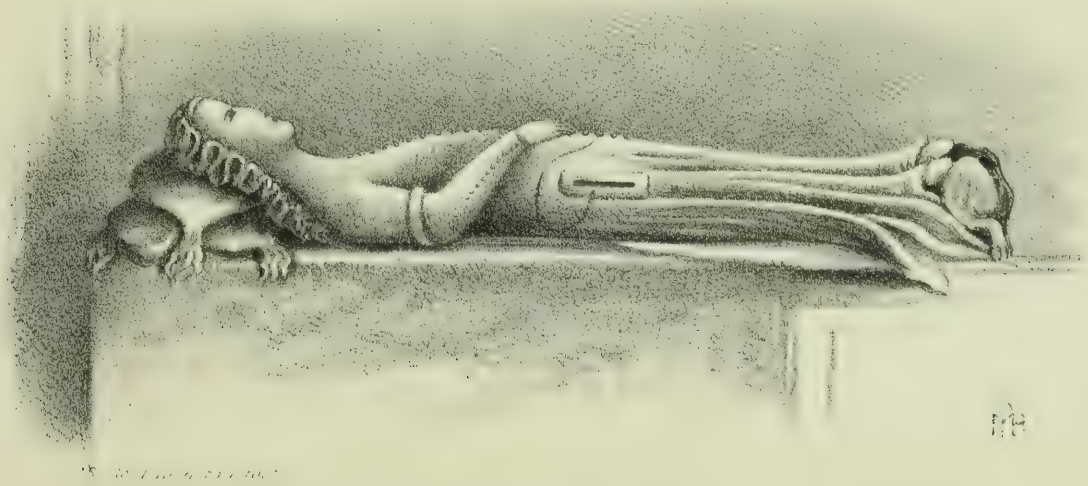
Although no monumental effigy of a lady exists in England anterior to the 13th century, we have ample illustration in contemporary MSS. to show in what kind of costume women of an earlier period arrayed themselves. Anglo-Saxon women of all classes appear to have been very similarly attired in long, flowing garments, the contruction of which would be a difficult matter to explain, as they mingle together in elegant folds, and covering their wearers from head to foot, can scarcely be distinguished one from the other. Their outer garments were the tunic, and super-tunic, the one a close-fitting dress with long sleeves, the other a loose dress worn over it; and above these was worn the mantle or cloak when required. Their hair was worn long, but was almost entirely concealed beneath a veil, which varied in richness according to the condition in life of its wearer, but was always worn both by princess, and peasant. This veil was called "heafods-rægel" or head rail, and covering the head and shoulders hung in folds, which mingled with those of the hood usually worn above it.

The outward appearance of the Norman ladies must have been very similar, and though in their own country they had been accustomed to wear their hair cut short, yet it seems their admiration of the beautiful long hair of the Saxon ladies induced them to allow their hair to grow, and they wore it in long plaits or tresses on each side of the face, and the conquerors followed the fashion of the conquered. The two outer dresses of the Norman ladies were very similar in form to those of the Saxons, but were known by the Norman names of côte and surcôte, and the veil was called the "couvre chef."

One of the earliest representations in stone of female dress in England is on the right side of the great west door of Rochester Cathedral, but it is a memorial, rather than a monumental effigy. It represented the Queen of Henry I. in the costume of the early part of the 12th century with great minuteness. On each side of her head hang long plaits of hair, almost reaching to her knees, but unfortunately the top of her head is so much damaged that it is doubtful whether she wore a "couvre chef," it must, however, have been of small size, if worn at all. Her dress has a tight-fitting bodice, and below the waist her skirt becomes full and ample. She has very long sleeves, and wears over all a mantle of state.

Probably the most ancient monumental effigy of a lady in England is that of Eva de Braose, in the Priory Church of St. Mary, Abergavenny, (*Plate IX*) and of which the following description is given by Mr. Octavius Morgan in his work on the Abergavenny Monuments, "The effigy is of small size, being only four feet six inches from the feet to as much of the head as now remains, the upper part being broken away. This rests on two cushions, the lower one square, with a tassel at each corner, the upper one long with a tassel at each end. The head is uncovered, the hair being arranged in two long flowing curled ringlets or tresses, on either side of the face, which descend as low as the shoulders and rest on the tomb beneath them. The upper part of the head being broken away, we are in ignorance of how the head-dress terminated. The figure is represented as wearing a close-fitting kirtle or côte hardie, which is closed in front with a row of close-set small flat buttons down to the waist, where it become fuller, and flows down over the feet, the toes only appearing: these rest on an animal like a dog, but all are very much mutilated. The sleeves fit closely, and seem to terminate in a band above the elbow. There seems to be a close-fitting sleeve of an under garment, which descends to the wrist. The right hand lies across the body at the waist, and the left hand held something, said by Churchyard (who wrote a description of these monuments at the end of the 16th century) to have been a squirrel, and he speaks

Plate IX



Eva de Braose.

In St. Mary's Church, Abergavenny.

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Plate X.

Scale, 1 inch to 1 foot.

Eva de Cantilupe, Baroness of Abergavenny.
In St Mary's Church, Abergavenny

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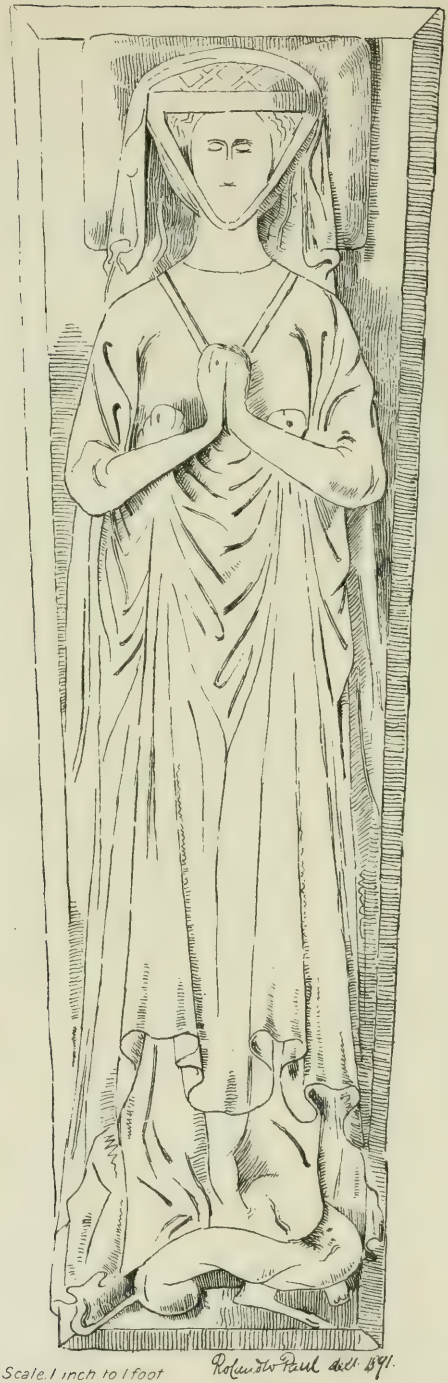
of it as existing in his time, but it is now broken away. Whatever it was, it seems to have been attached by a chain, which passes over the body with a sweep, and terminates in a slit or pocket in the side of the kirtle, which pocket is of unusual character, being strengthened all round with a very wide margin. The figure is of soft sandstone, and both it and the tomb have been sadly broken, and patched up with very rough plaster, so that the details of the costume of the one, and the architecture of the other, are nearly obliterated, but from there being no wimple, and the hair being dressed in flowing curls, and from the close-fitting gown with tight sleeves, I consider it to be the first half of the 13th century, and attribute it to Eva, daughter of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, and wife of William de Braose, the last Lord of Abergavenny of that name, who died in 1230, leaving only four daughters, all very young. She died in 1246, which date well accords with the costume. With regard to the history of the squirrel, Churchyard says that a story had been handed down that the lady had a pet squirrel which escaped, and that she, in trying to recover it, overbalanced herself, and fell from the castle wall, and so lost her life. Such an event is quite possible, for the ladies of that day were very fond of pet animals, and there is no reason to doubt that the squirrel was upon the monument; the peculiarity of the formation of the pocket, with the long chain issuing from it seem to confirm the story of the fatal accident. It may be well doubted if any part of the tomb is original except the effigy, and as that is older than any part of the existing church, we cannot be sure that the tomb is in its original situation. Adjoining this tomb at its east end is another, on which rests a very early and remarkable effigy. (*Plate X*). On the sides of the tomb are three quartrefoil panels, having within them heater-shaped shields, flat on the surface; on the other side are six heater shields, convex on the surface, the two sides of the tomb do not correspond, and the figure does not fit the tomb, which has every appearance of being a piece of patch-work; this, like the preceding tomb, is earlier than the church. The figure, however, is remarkably curious

and interesting; the total length of it is 4 feet 3 inches; the face has been much injured; the head rests on an oblong cushion, and is represented in a wimple with the veil or couvre chef hanging down behind. The wimple made its appearance as a head tire for women about the end of the 12th century, and was a sort of hood, which covered not only the head and shoulders, but was usually brought round the neck beneath the chin, and was occasionally pulled over it, and concealed the whole of the throat. The hair was frequently dressed in plaits and curls, which projected at the sides within the wimple, giving it a triangular appearance. Over this seems to have been worn a sort of close flat-topped cap, from which a veil hung down behind, and which could at pleasure be drawn over the face. The wimple was much worn throughout the 13th century, but after that time this most unbecoming style of dress went out of fashion, but was retained on the usual mourning head-gear of widows and nuns, being worn by the lower orders till a century later.

The effigy we are describing is represented in what appears to be a state mantle, which is gathered up in folds over the arms, the hands being raised upon the breast in prayer, holding between them what seems to be a heart. The most curious and interesting circumstance is that the body of the figure below the hands is covered with a long heater shield, in length 23 inches, and in width 17 inches across the top, having on it in relief three large fleurs-de-lis, two and one. I am not aware of any similar monument, and I do not think another exists of a female figure bearing a large knightly shield on her body. This peculiarity enables us to identify the individual whose tomb and monument it is. The wimple head-dress, the border of quartrefoil flowers, and curling leaves, and the heater shield, all point to the 13th century, and the coat of arms equally points to the family of Cantilupe, whose arms were *gules, three fleur-de-lis, or*. I have therefore little doubt that this is the effigy of Eva de Cantilupe, widow of William de Cantilupe, and Baroness of Abergavenny in her own right, which fact will remove all difficulty, and explain the anomaly of a lady bearing on her person the shield of a knight.

Plate XI.



Scale. 1 inch to 1 foot

Effigy in the Church of Tickenham, Co. Somerset

Scale, 1 inch to 1 foot

Margaret, 1st wife of Thomas III. 6th Lord Berkeley.

Bristol Cathedral, She died 1337.

She was one of the four daughters of the lady whose monument has been previously described (Eva, wife of William de Braose, Lord of Abergavenny), and she inherited from her father the Barony of Abergavenny, which she conveyed to her husband, William de Cantilupe, who dying in 1256 left her, his widow, Baroness in her own right. She was therefore a very great and important personage, and was within her own marchership a sovereign princess, holding the position of one of the barons of the realm, and had her own tenants by feudal service to follow her standard to the wars, if she required. This explains the unusual circumstances of her body being covered with her shield bearing her coat of arms. She enjoyed honours only for a short time, and died in 1257.[1]

The dress which was usually worn with the wimple, and which is concealed in this monument by the shield, can be well seen on the effigy of a lady, probably a member of the family of Berkeley, which is in the Church of Tickenham, Somersetshire, on a long raised stone bench in the north aisle. This branch of the Berkeleys long resided at Tickenham Court.

The monument is very beautifully executed, and, except a mutilation of the nose, is in excellent preservation (*Pl. XI*). The lady wears a côte, high at the neck, and with long sleeves. Over this, a long surcoat with sleeves which end at the elbow. This falls in folds over the feet, and is tucked up under each arm, shewing the côte below it. A mantle hangs over the shoulders, and is fastened across the chest by two cords or bands, which are brought together under the hands, which are folded in prayer. This monument shows the manner in which the hair was dressed up at the time, being gathered up in a network at the top of the head, and concealed by a fillet, over which the the couvre chef falls.[2]

Somewhat similar to the last is the effigy of Lady Margaret, first wife of Thomas sixth Lord Berkeley (*Plate XII*). She was daughter of Roger Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, created Earl of March, and she died May 5th, 1337. Smyth tells us "she was

[1] From O. Morgan's Abergavenny, p. 72.

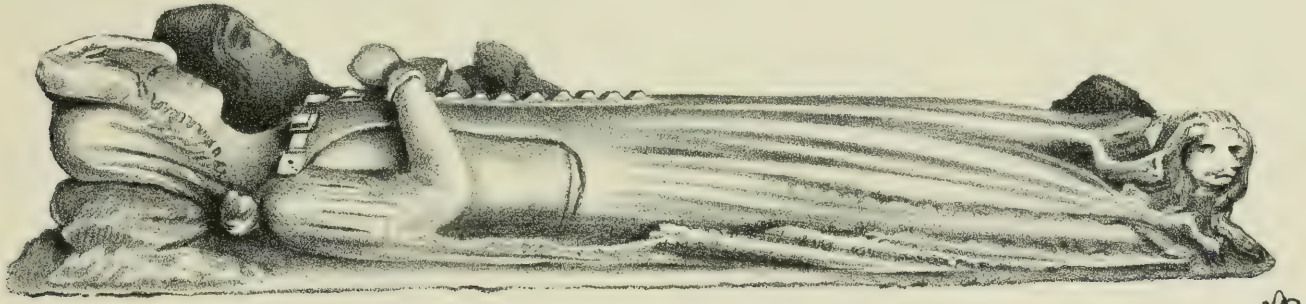
[2] I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. R. Paul for the drawing and description of this effigy.

worshipfully buried in the Church of St. Augustine's Monastery, in the great tomb under the arch between the elder Chapple of our Lady, and the north aisle there." By her side is the effigy of her only surviving son, Maurice, 7th Lord Berkeley, who appears to have been devotedly attached to his mother's memory, and who gave "a house before the gate of St. Augustine's Monastery, with the garden and dovehouse thereof, and divers houses in brode street in Bristol, to pray in that Monastery, especially for the soule of his mother, the Lady Margaret." The wimple and gorget on the monument are so enlarged as to fall like a cape over the shoulders, but at the time the monument was executed this ugly fashion had almost passed away. The shoes are large and pointed, and after this time shoes became more like what we now know as such, and were much ornamented with gold, and silver embroidery. Previously they had the appearance of sandals, being slit across the instep, or in other places. In the reign of Rich. II. began the absurd extravagances in the fashion of shoes and boots, the toes of which were elongated till they reached a length which made them the subject of prohibitory statutes. Fashion, however, as usual, rushed into the opposite extreme, and in the 16th century the shoes were as wide at the toes as they had previously been narrow; but from that time they began to assume their present form.

Stockings were undoubtedly worn at a very early date, and were known as *hose* in Anglo-Saxon, and *chausses* in Norman times. The material of which they were made was of cloth, and it was not till the reign of Queen Elizabeth that we hear of black silk knitted stockings.

The changes of fashion in the dress of women of the upper classes of society which took place about this period are exemplified by the monument of Lady Joyce *(Plate XIII.)*, wife of Sir John Joce, or Joyce, in Newland Church. Her effigy, with that of her husband, rests upon a high tomb in the South aisle, but this tomb is entirely modern, and of the worst possible design and execution. These effigies at the time of the "restoration" of the church were thoroughly scraped and cleaned so that some of the details of both figures are sadly mutilated and destroyed.

Plate XIII.



Scale. 1 inch to 1 foot.

Lady Joyce — Newland Church.

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Lady Joyce died in 1362, and the dress in which she is represented is one which became general in the reign of Edw. III., and to which Mr. Planché gives the name of the "sideless" garment, the arm-holes being so wide that the body of the dress is reduced to a few inches in breadth, both in front and at the back, and so deep that they show the girdle which encircles the côte below the hips, and he adds "if this be not a sur-côte I am unable to find any other name which applies to it."[1] This sur-côte, though tight fitting on the upper part, becomes fuller after it passes the hips, and falls in graceful folds over the feet, which it nearly covers. This appears to have been the style of most of the outer dresses in medieval times, by whatever name they are called, but how the effect was produced I am utterly at a loss to explain, for they do not show any plaits or gathers by which the extra quantity of material was introduced, and I think it would puzzle a 19th century dressmaker to make one of a similar pattern. Under this dress is worn a tight-fitting côte with tight sleeves, which have cuffs, but the hands are gone. Over the surcoat Lady Joyce wears a mantle which falls in folds on each side, and is held together across the chest by a very handsome jewelled fastening, one end of which descends below the waist; it is of exactly the same pattern as the baldrick which encircles the jupon of her husband. In the 14th century the art of the goldsmith was in great request to adorn these belts, and they are of a most costly description. By the sumptuary laws of Edward III., and which extended to the 16th century, no one under the rank of knighthood, or not possessed of property to the amount of £200 per annum could wear belts ornamented with gold or silver. Lady Joyce wears a reticulated head-dress which had by this time superseded the wimple, and underneath it is an arrangement which looks as if it were hair padded or stuffed into a kind of net-work, but, if so, it must have been false hair, for underneath it is worn, quite close to the face, a cap which has a very narrow frill, and which comes down below the lady's ears.

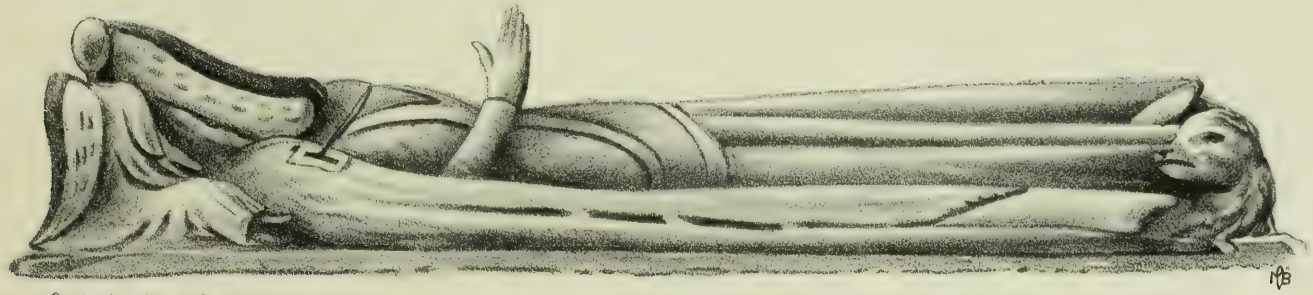
[1] M. Viollet le Duc says that this was originally an English fashion, and though it was retained as a state dress for over a century it is quite unknown what its original name was.

In much the same dress as that just described is the effigy of Lady Berkeley (*Plate XIV*), 2nd wife of Thomas, 6th Lord. This lady was the daughter of Sir John Clyvedon, and widow of Sir Peter le Veel, Knt. She died March, 1385, and was buried with her husband in the parish church of Berkeley "in a faire monument grated round with iron bars, under the second arch before the rood on the South side of the Church."[1] It was during the absence of Lord Thomas in Scotland, and when this lady was in charge of the castle, that the cruel murder of Edward II. took place, and as one looks at the stern hard face of the effigy, one can imagine that the "she wolf" of Berkeley was a woman of most determined mould. The borders of her sideless surcoat are trimmed with fur, and the front of the bodice faced with it. The effect produced by this arrangement giving the dress the appearance of what we call a "jacket." At this period the use of fur as a trimming of dress was limited by the sumptuary law of Edward III., and no lady unless she was ennobled could wear any furs of "ermine, lettice, pure minever, or grey, except the wives of the Lord Mayor of London, Warwick, and other free towns, the gentlewomen belonging to the Queen, and the chief maiden attendants of a princess, Duchess, or Countess." Over her shoulders Lady Berkeley wears a long mantle fastened with cords which pass through eyelet holes or fermailes. Her shoes with pointed toes rest on a lion.

From the beginning of the 15th to the close of the 16th century little alteration is to be noticed in the form of mantles, but during the latter half of the 15th century many of the effigies of ladies of noble birth represent them in mantles embroidered with their husband's armorial bearings, having their own embroidered on their surcoats. Unmarried ladies did not wear mantles, unless they were of high rank, neither did they cover their heads with the head-dresses we have described. They seem to have worn their hair long, and either confined in a net-work of gold or silver, or hanging loose with a fillet or wreath of flowers to keep it in its place.

[1] From Smyth's "Lives of the Berkeleys."

Plate XIV.



Scale, 1 inch to 1 foot.

Katherine, 2nd wife of Thomas III, 6th Lord Berkeley.

In Berkeley Church. She died 1385

Perhaps the most remarkable thing connected with female attire during the 15th century is the extraordinary variety in the head-dresses, and the outrageous forms they assumed. Upon the brass of Margaret, wife of the 10th Lord Berkeley, can be seen the early form of one of the most remarkable of these head-dresses. This lady was the only child of Gerard Warren, Lord de Lisle, and her death took place in 1417. "She lyeth buried in the parish Church of Wotton under a faire tomb, by the side of her husband, to which tomb her bones were translated at her husband's death"; so says Smyth, and he also tells us that she was a very mild and devout lady, and that her death so affected her husband that he went on a foreign pilgrimage, and never married again. She left an only daughter, whose marriage with Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, was the beginning of the great Berkeley lawsuit. Upon her brass she is represented wearing a "sideless garment" which has a long flowing skirt. Her sleeves are tight, and are fastened with buttons. These common adjuncts of a woman's dress have had many vicissitudes of fashion. In Anglo-Saxon, or in early Norman times there was no use for buttons, as the style of drapery did not require them, but in the reign of Edw. I. the long, tight sleeves were buttoned from wrist to elbow, and the front of the surcôte was fastened with them. They continued to be used till the 14th century, when they were superseded by laces and points, but they appear again on the sleeves of gowns at the beginning of the 15th century. Cords and tassels for a time displaced them, but at the close of the 16th century they again came into use, and have so continued to the present time. Lady Berkeley wears a long mantle fastened with cord and tassels, the folds of which mingling with those of her dress entirely cover her feet, at which lies a small pug dog with a collar of bells round his neck. Her hair is taken off her forehead, and confined in a cawl of gold or silver network, termed "crespine," with jewels at the intersections. A small couvre chef is fastened on the top, showing the pin which holds it, and falls in folds at the back of her head. The next change in the crespine was to introduce small bunches at the sides, which soon developed into the horned head-dress, of which a remarkable example can be

seen on the brass of Lady Greyndour in Newland Church.[1] This lady died about 1445, and is clothed in a gown,[2] a dress which we first meet with in the reign of Richard II. Both in name and construction this is much like some modern dresses, and it is complete in itself, instead of being a sort of dual garment, as were most of its predecessors.[3] The côte was still worn under the gown, but it was not visible, and in no way contributed to the general effect as heretofore. The sleeves of Lady Greyndour's gown are very full, and are gathered into a loose band at the wrist. The collar is turned down at the shoulders, and an ornamented band encircles her waist, which is very short. It is remarkable that this part of a woman's body seems always to have been considered of a moveable nature at the will of fashion, for it migrates at different periods from the extreme of shortness under the arms, to the extreme of length over the hips.

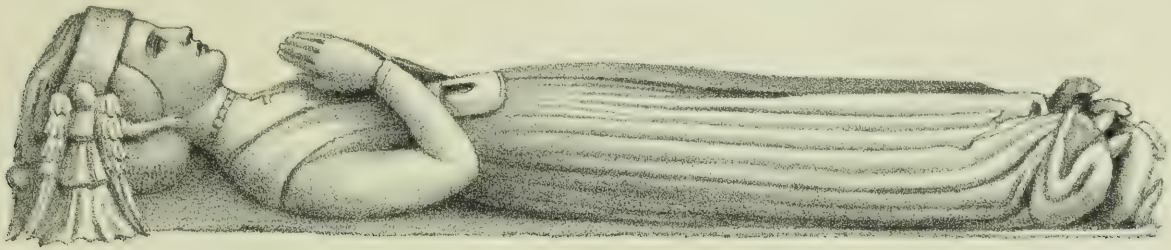
The head-dress of Lady Greyndour is one which was much worn during the reign of Henry VI. It is known as the heart-shaped, the mitre, and the horned head-dress, and it grew to preposterous dimensions. A story is related of the Queen of Charles VI. of France that she had her horned head-dress so tall as to be unable to go through the doors of the palace at Vincennes, till they were heightened to permit the free passage of herself and her ladies. In the next reign another fashion came in, and turbans were worn draped with long veils in fanciful folds, but it would be impossible in the small space at my disposal to describe all the variety of head gear which ladies adopted at this period.

The effigy of Katherine, wife of Sir Thomas Berkeley, sister and coheir of John Buttetort, Esq., lies under a handsome Berkeley shaped arch on the north side of the Sanctuary of St. Mark's Chapel, Bristol. She is dressed in a gown with long plain skirt, which is held at her feet by two little dogs. This

[1] Trans B. & G. Arch. Soc., Vol. VII., Plate XVI.

[2] Many names are used for ladies' dresses in old inventories and wardrobe accounts, but as most of them are not positively identified, I have confined myself to the terms—tunic and super-tunic, côte and surcôte, previous to the gown.

[3] "Tenice gowns" are mentioned in inventories and wardrobe accounts in the 13th century.—*Planche*, p. 219, "Hist. of Costume."



Scale, 1 inch to 1 foot

Katherine wife of Sir Thomas Berkeley

In the Mayor's Chapel. Bristol

Plate XV.

LAVARS & C°L TH BROAD S° BRISTOL.

gown has long plain sleeves, and is cut low at the neck, with a very wide turned-down collar, the ends of which are united below the waist, and are kept in place by a band. Above the low bodice is a plaited chemisette, or peplum, an article of dress which is supposed to represent the old gorget in a new form. Close round her neck the lady wears a necklace with pendant cross. This kind of ornament became general in the 15th century, both with and without pendants. Her head-dress is very curious, possibly unique; a veil falls at the back of the head and is confined over the forehead by a stiff band with sides. (I refer my reader to *Plate XV.* as it is a difficult head-dress to describe.). I can find no satisfactory description of this kind of cap, but after looking over many illustrations of the period, I am inclined to think it may be the cap which was worn under the steeple head-dress, a covering which, originating in France, became fashionable in England about 1467. This remarkable structure was a kind of round cap, gradually tapering to a point, from which hung a long veil, sometimes three-quarters of an ell in height, and often so long it required to be carried under the arm. It was known in France by the name of 'Hennons,' and to this day its descendants can be seen on the heads of Normandy peasants, when they don their gayest attire for some fête or solemnity. It is there called a 'cauchoise.' Lady Berkeley's effigy lies by that of her husband, who died in 1416, but from the style of his armour, and from the fact that he is represented as wearing a collar of suns and roses, it is evident that the monument was erected at a later period. This well known badge of the house of York was not used till after 1461, and both his armour and the lady's dress are as late as this date. Probably the monument was erected when Bishop Miles Salley reconstructed the chancel of the Mayor's Chapel in the late Perpendicular style of architecture, and before 1516, in which year he died.[1]

Another wonderful head-dress is shewn on the brass of the first wife of Thomas Baynham in Micheldean Church.[2] She died in 1477, and this head-dress had come into fashion a few years

[1] Trans. Bristol & Glouc., Vol. XV., p. 10.

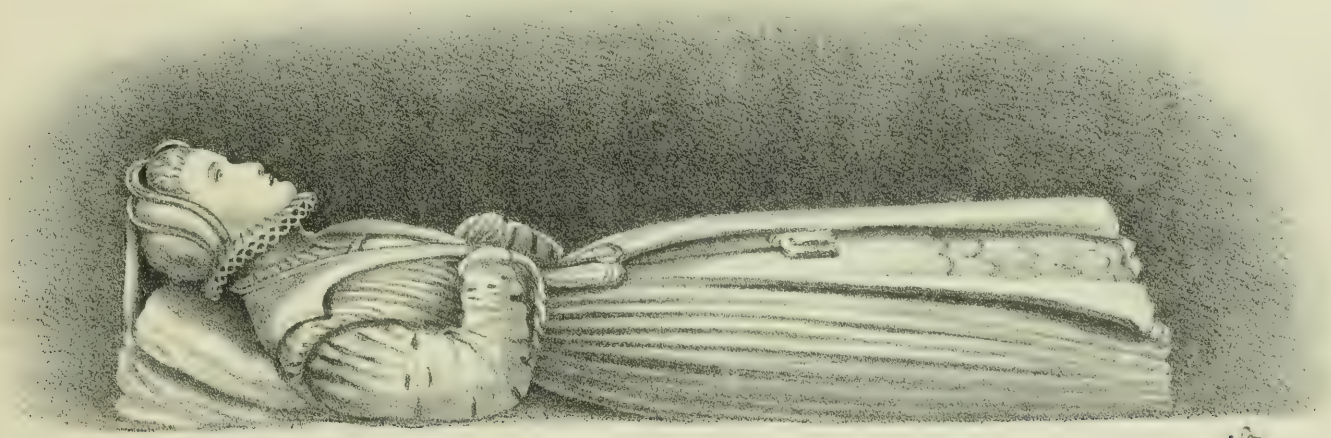
[2] *Ibid.* Vol. VI., Plate 7.

previously. It was known as the butterfly, and was made of muslin, or some thin material, stiffened to resemble the wings of a butterfly. Under it was worn a cylindrical cawl or cap, in which the hair was confined, and which projected from the back of the head. The lady is dressed in a gown, cut low, and square at the neck, edged with fur, above which shows the chemisette or partlet. She has tight sleeves with large fur cuffs, and a fur edging to the bottom of her dress, which is confined by a waist-band showing the buckle, and has a long pendant end.

Alice, the second wife of Thomas Baynham, is also represented on a brass in Mitcheldean Church.[1] She wears a gown much like her predecessor, but her sleeves are tight, and long enough to almost cover her hands. There is perhaps no part of a woman's dress which has gone through more changes of shape and size than her sleeves. Shortly after the Norman Conquest most extraordinary varieties are to be seen. At first a rage existed for very long sleeves, so long indeed, that they were tied up in knots to prevent their trailing on the ground. In the reign of Edward III. long strips of some material hung from the short tight sleeves of the sur-coat, and originally these were of cloth of gold, or other costly material, the edges of which were cut into shapes and devices, and were known as dagges. Probably these gave the idea of the long hanging sleeves of the reign of Rich. II., and which continued to be worn through the greater part of the 15th century. In the early part of the next century sleeves were separate articles of dress, which could be taken off, or added by means of points or buttons. They were afterwards worn both tight and loose, and were slashed in every conceivable manner.

Alice Baynham died in 1518, and upon her head is a kind of bonnet, which succeeded the butterfly head-dress about 1490, and which is known by the name of the "dog kennel," "diamond shaped," and pedemental head-dress, with which the pictures of the court of Henry VIII. have made us familiar. This again gave way to the "Paris head," a close cap with long lappets dependent behind, which in the reign of Edw. VI. was depressed in front like the cap now known as a "Mary Stuart."

[1] Trans. Bristol & Glouc., Vol. VI., Plate 8.



Scale, 1 inch to 1 foot

Wife of Roger Ligon Esqre

Fairford Church

Plate XVI.

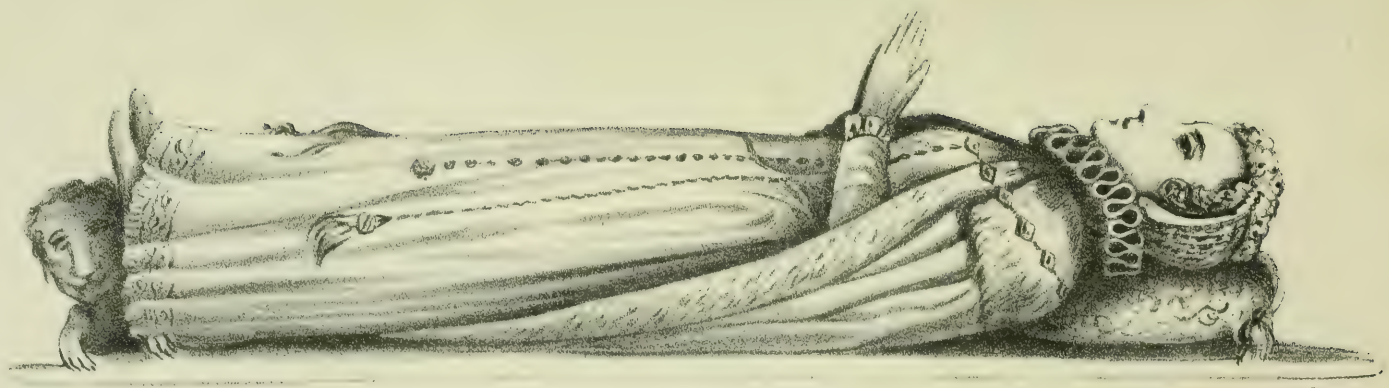
In Fairford Church there is a rather small-sized, but beautifully executed effigy of the wife of Roger Ligon, Esq., who died in the latter half of the 16th century. She wears an early form of the "Paris head," her hair is brushed off her forehead, and she has a small cap with closely plaited frill. This may have been a "bon grace," an article which seems to have been worn with the "Paris head," but which is not at present identified. The skirt of her over-gown is open in front, and turned back so as to show the under-dress or petticoat, and which has five or six small flounces at the bottom of the skirt. The bodice of the over-gown is full, without sleeves, the arm-holes being bound round with a thick cord. The sleeves of the under-dress are striped longitudinally at the upper, and slashed at the lower part of the arm; the hands and lowest part of the sleeve are gone. Over the bodice is a turned-down plain collar, the ends of which are confined round her waist by a thick cord. The partlet, or habit shirt, is plaited close to her chin, where it is met by the starched ruff, which from this time becomes a conspicuous feature in the dress of both men and women. From her waist is suspended a small book. Her feet are in broad-toed shoes, and are not resting upon the slab on which she lies, but are in the midst of multitudinous frilling of garments, an unreal and inartistic way of representing them, common at this period.

A little later in this century is the effigy of Lady Katherine (*Plate XVI.*), wife of Henry, 17th Lord Berkeley, and which is lying by that of her husband in the chapel on the South side of Berkeley Church. She wears the "Paris head" modified to allow her coronet to lie upon it, and has a very large ruff round the neck. Her gown appears to be of satin, or some soft material, with a band of embroidery round the skirt, which terminates with a narrow fringe. The bodice has a high pointed stomacher and long waist, and her tight sleeves have small ruffs round her hands. Over all she wears a state mantle, with a wide collar of fur, edged and lined with the same, and fastened close under her ruff by a long cord and tassels; she wears over this a long jewelled chain, without pendant. Her feet are in rather pointed shoes, and rest

on a lion. This lady was the third daughter of Henry Howard, Earl of Sussex, who was beheaded on Tower Hill in the lifetime of his father, the Duke of Norfolk. She was a very remarkable woman. Personally good looking, she seems to have been proud and haughty, requiring the greatest deference from all her attendants. Skilful in French, and perfect in the Italian tongue, an admirable performer on the lute, her attainments were considerable, and in later life she studied natural philosophy and astronomy. Extravagant in her expenses, she supplied herself with money in a manner which her biographer describes thus: "Few fines or Incombes from the tenants were raised, and never any land sold, but she had a 6th or 8th or tenth thereout unknown to her husband." Although she had £300 a year allowed for her dress and chamber expenses.

Smyth has given us a very curious account of this lady's funeral written to Lord Berkeley, and as it contains many interesting matters referring to the mourning dress of ladies of that date, I venture to quote a part. "The funeral took place on Thursday, 20th May, 1596, being Ascention day, and her body was brought from Callowden, where she died, to Coventry, with great ceremony. At the time of the funeral a great train of persons had assembled, and were directed by Garter King at Armes and Chester herald thus to proceed to the Ch. of St. Michael. First went six of your principal yeomen in long black clokes, with bk. staves in their hands, next came 70 poor women in mourning gowns, and Holland kerchiefs, then 30 gentleman's servants in black coats, then followed the servants of gentlemen and Esquires in bk. clokes, next the servants of Knights in black clokes also. Then followed your lordship's yeomen, and after them your gentlemen, with some of the Lady Strange's intersplaced with them, yours being 74, whereof my self went as one of her Secretaries."

After describing the order in which the rest of the attendants walked, he says: "Then came your Lordship's chaplain, and after them, and next before the coffin, went Chester herald as a necessary marshall to the better direction of the train. Then came the Coffin, and behind it was Garter in his kingly Coate of Armes, and the gentleman usher, next after them came lady Strange the principal



Scale, 1 inch to 1 foot.

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Katherine first wife of Henry 1, 7th Lord Berkeley

In Berkeley Church

LAVARS & SMITH BRIAD ST BRISTOL

'mournerese' in her gown, mantle, train, hood, and tippet of black, and in her Paris head, tippet, wimple, vaile, and barbe of fine linen, her train being bourne by Mrs. Audeley Denis apparelled as an 'Esquiresse' in her gown, and lined hood of black, with a pleated kerchief and barbe of lawn. Then came Mrs. Elizabeth Berkeley, "your daughter in law," and the Lady Carey, side by side, apparelled as Baronesses, and in all points suitable to the principal Mourneresse, save that their gowns were tucked up, and not borne. Then followed Mrs. Deveroux and lady Leigh, apparelled as knights' wives in their black gowns, hoods, and tippets, and in their round 'parys head' boinegrace and barbes of fine lawn. Next came four Esquiresses apparelled as the trainbearer, save that they wantid hoods. Then came the gentlewomen in black gowns, kerchiefs, and barbes of lawn. And next came eight chambermaids, servants to the ladies aforesaid, in gowns and kerchiefs of lawns only."

With all this, and much more state and pageant, the dead lady was borne to her last resting place, and one cannot help feeling what a happy change has come over the funeral arrangements of of the 19th century. However, the account is very interesting, as we get from the pen of one who knew every detail—an exact description of the mourning dress suitable for women of every rank at the end of the 16th century. The article which is called the "barbe" in this account was added to the wimple early in the 15th century, it was a piece of linen closely plaited, and worn over or under the chin according to the rank of the wearer. The Queen and all ladies down to the degree of a baroness wearing it over, the others below the chin, while poor persons could only wear it on the lowest part of the throat. It was not till the reign of Edward III. that the first mention occurs of black cloths being worn as mourning when the court wore black dresses for the death of John II. King of France, 1364. On some monuments of that period the attendants are represented on the side panels with black cloaks over their other coloured garments.

It is not my intention to refer to the dresses of the 17th century. They are too well known to require description, and

can be easily seen and studied in pictures and sepulchral effigies, but the artistic and devotional representation of the dead had passed away, and in place of the graceful figure with uplifted hands in attitude of rest and prayer, we meet with stiff elaborate copies of people *alive* kneeling at a prayer desk, or half reclining on a tomb, which perchance occupies the most prominent position in the sanctuary.

The study of women's dress in mediæval times is more than a mere desire to become acquainted with each passing variety of flounce and furbelow, for an accurate knowledge of the minute and gradual changes in costume will often be of great service to the antiquary, as it was well known that ladies were particular, especially in the 16th century, that their head-dresses, girdles, and every small detail of their dress should be accurately represented on their monuments. Fashion is but a fleeting cloud, but fashions carved in stone will last for ages, and it may be that a bit of carving on a corbel showing through the ivy which clothes the ruined wall in which it rests, may give a clue to the history of the building when all other records have well nigh passed away.

DOOR FRAME AT AMPNEY ST. MARY, Co. GLOUC.

By SIR HENRY DRYDEN, Bart.
(*Honorary Member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*).

This parish contains 1236 acres and about 120 inhabitants. The incumbency is a perpetual curacy, and is united to the rectory of Ampney St. Peter, an adjoining parish. Before the union both were perpetual curacies and under different patrons; but at the union the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester, the patrons of St. Peter, gave up the great tithes and constituted the living a rectory. The presentation is made alternately by the two patrons. Before the Reformation the patronage of St. Mary was attached to the abbacy of Cirencester, but the patronage of St. Peter to the abbacy to Gloucester. Nearly all the population of the parish is at a distance from the church, and service is performed in it only four times a year.

It is built of limestone, which is plentiful here, and consists of Nave and Chancel with a bell-cot on the E. gable of the Nave. The Nave is 39 ft. 5 ins. × 19 ft. internally, and the Chancel 23 ft. 9 ins. × 12 ft. 10 ins. The entrance is in the S. wall of the Nave, within a porch, and there is a small doorway in the S. wall of the Chancel.

The walls are of irregular thickness—mostly about 2 ft., and of rough masonry.

In the N. wall of the Nave is the door-frame which is the chief subject of this notice.

The doorway is now blocked up. It has jambs with a roll at the external angles, surmounted by a single stone 5 ft. ½ in. long, in form an irregular half octagon, the lower edge being horizontal; on which are carved in low relief four figures of monsters. Leaving the blocking out of account, the clear opening would be 5 ft. 11 ins. × 3 ft. 4 ins.; but it is evident that the jambs have been rebuilt and placed 7½ ins. nearer together than at first; so that the opening was at first 4 ft. wide, and possibly more than 6 ft.

in height. The wall is about 2 ft. thick. The same form of head is at Elkstone, Gloucestershire.[1]

The font is of late Norman or Early-English work. The bowl is circular, 2ft. $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in diameter, and 1ft. $1\frac{1}{4}$in. deep externally, carved with zigzag ornament.

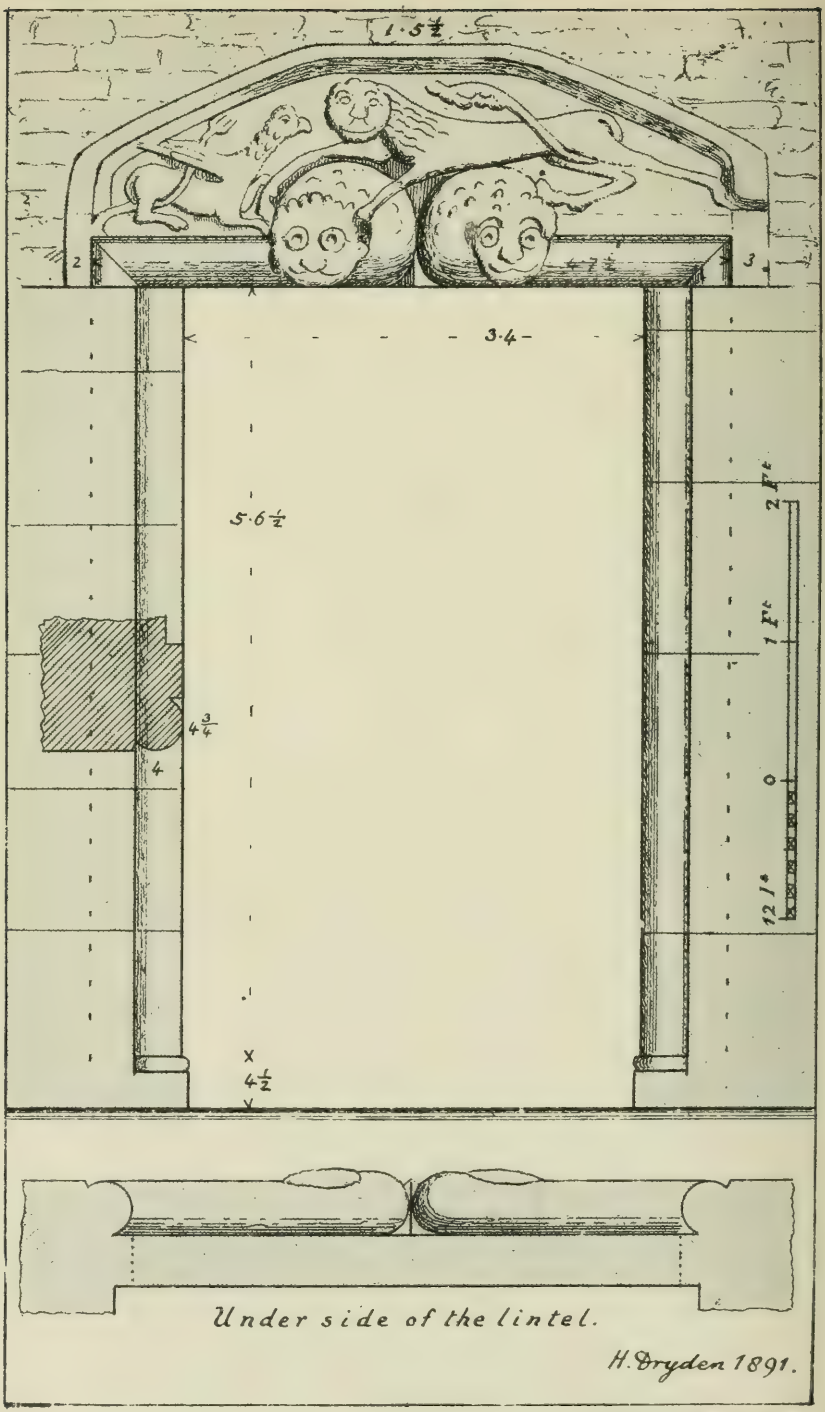
The internal portion of the door-frame of the chancel has a horizontal head formed of a floriated sepulchral slab, somewhat mutilated, with the ornate face doorwards.

For the following observations on the carving of the door-head I am indebted to Mr. Romilly Allen:—

"In Norman churches the most important piece of sculpture is usually placed over the principal doorway, either on a tympanum filling up the space between the under side of the arch and the flat top of the opening, or on a lintel-stone sometimes made sufficiently strong by increasing the depth in the centre to render a relieving arch above unnecessary. Decorated tympana are far more common than decorated lintels, probably because the semi-circular space gives more room for the effective grouping of the figures than the long narrow space. It cannot be said that the figures on the lintel at Ampney St. Mary are well grouped, as there is an obvious want of balance in the composition.

The subjects chosen for the decoration of tympana on lintels of doorways in the 12th century were quite as often as not taken from the mediæval Bestiaries or other similar works, instead of from the Bible. During the first four or five centuries, A.D., Christian symbolism was in the main purely Scriptural, and the only animal forms introduced were those which had an obvious Scriptural meaning, such as the flock of Sheep tended by Christ, the Good Shepherd. In the mosaics of the sixth century we see a new tendency beginning to develope itself in the use of non-scriptural symbols like the Phœnix, and from this time onwards zöomorphic decoration became more and more popular until the austere teachers of the Church were compelled to protest in very vigorous terms against the abuse of such things. No doubt when the

[1] See R. Allen's "Early Christian Symbolism," p. 162. See also ante Vol. IV., Plate I.



Door frame at Ampney St Mary Church: Glouc

Northern races were converted to Christianity they already had a liking for zöomorphic ornament, and the opening up of all the sources of classical learning stimulated their imaginations still further.

Thus to the mythical creatures with which their own folk-lore had acquainted them they were able to add the beasts both real and imaginary described by Ctesias, Pliny, and Ælian. In mediæval times all science, including natural history, was directed from a secular into an ecclesiastical channel, and it is therefore a a matter of no surprise that the monkish writers should have seized upon all this material and turned it to account, by the compilation of moralized bestiaries, in which the characteristics, habits and stories about animals are made to symbolize Christian doctrines and qualities. The sculptures in Norman Churches of England show how widely read these treatises must have been, and how much the art of the 12th century was affected by the pseudo-religious natural history of the Bestiary.

The subject represented on the lintel at Ampney St. Mary appears to be a Griffin and a Lion (*Pl. XVII.*) The two creatures are facing one another, the lion being on the right and the griffin on the left. The tails are in each case curled round, passing between the two hind legs, and then in front of the body with the ends pointing upwards. The mane of the lion and the feathers on the neck of the griffin are treated in the usual conventional way. The head of the lion shows the full face, but that of the griffin is in profile. The roll-moulding round the rectangular opening of the doorway instead of being continued right across the lower edge of the lintel, has a division in the centre, and the two ends of the moulding are each made to terminate in a beast's head, showing the full face The necks are ornamented with conventionality to indicate the texture of the skin covered with tufts of hair. This treatment of the moulding round the doorway is most unusual, and I cannot remember having seen anything similar elsewhere. It is difficult to say with any degree of certainty to what species of animal these two terminal heads belong. Possibly they are intended for lions, and seem to me to be used decoratively, and not to form part of the subject on the lintel above.

With regard to the symbolism of the lion and the griffin, assuming, of course, that we are right in supposing them to be these creatures, a few suggestions may be hazarded, but at most they can be little more than guesses.

The subject must have a meaning, which was well understood at one time, as there are other instances where the same, or at all events very nearly the same, subject occurs ; namely, on tympana at Ridlington,[1] Rutland ; and Covington,[2] Huntingdonshire ; and on the fonts at Lincoln Cathedral ; and Darenth,[3] Kent.

The bestiary tells us that the lion has three natures : (1) when pursued by the hunters he effaces with his tail all traces of the marks of his feet, symbolising the hidden manner in which Christ makes His influence felt so that the ignorant cannot find Him ; (2) the lion sleeps with his eyes open, as when Christ was buried His body slept but his Godhead was awake ; and (3) when the lioness brings forth a cub it is dead, and in this state she guards it until upon the third day the father comes and brings it to life by breathing in its face, typifying the Resurrection of Christ after three days.

The griffin is described in some of the bestiaries, but is not found in the most common series. It is described as a bird living in the deserts of India, which is so strong that it can fly away with a live cow in its beak to feed its young, thus signifying the Devil who carries off the soul of the wicked man to the deserts of Hell.[5]

The griffin has quite a literature to itself, and an admirable account of the literary sources whence the mediæval artist obtained their ideas on the subject will be found in the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana" (vol. xix., p. 743). Herodotus tells the story of the griffins and the guarded gold, and their perpetual enemies the one-eyed Arimaspians. Ctesias mentions them, and Ælian says that they easily vanquish all animals except the lion and the elephant. The griffin may be traced from its source in the books of the early Greek writers, through the Latin authors, like Pliny,

[1] Gentleman's Magazine, 1796, p. 187.

[2] "Early Christian Symbolism," p. 371.

[3] Ibid., p. 292. [4] Ibid., p. 342. [5] Ibid., p. 370.

to the mediæval romances of Alexander and Sir John Mandeville's travels. Milton keeps the memory of the griffin green in his *Paradise Lost*, and we can never forget him as long as the hideous monument which replaced Temple Bar is allowed to mark the boundary of the City of London. Guillim, in his "Display of Heraldry," makes a ponderous joke on the subject that may be worth quoting. He says: Sable, a Griffon sergeant, or, is the coat of the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, being one of the Inns of Court. The erecting of the fore legs of the Griffon is an evident testimony of his readiness for action."

Sir Thomas Brown throws some light on the symbolism of the Griffin by suggesting that it signifies a guardian, its ears implying attention, it wings celerity of execution, its lion-like shape courage, and its hooked bill tenacity.

The Egyptian griffin is the symbol of Osiris. In Scotland the griffin is represented on early sculptured stones at Kettins, Forfarshire; Meigle, Perthshire; St. Andrew's and Jedburgh.

Notices of Recent Archæological & Historical Publications.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES, from the close of the Middle Ages, drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other original sources. From the German of Dr. LUDWIG PASTOR, Professor of History in the University of Innsbruck. Edited by FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS, of the Oratory. Vol. II. London: John Hodges, 1891.

WE printed a full notice of the first volume of this trustworthy work extending from Pope Clement V. to Eugenius IV., in our last volume. The present volume is prefaced with a note from the pen of the late Cardinal Manning. His eminence states that Professor Pastor comes to us with a singular and exceptional weight of authority on account of the general approval of Pope Leo XIII. of the first volume, and the strict injunctions given by his Holiness to the five Cardinals whom he had appointed as a commission to oversee the publication of historical matters contained in the Vatican Archives, and because no author, as yet, had written the History of the Popes with such copious evidence drawn not only from the Vatican records since they were thrown open by Pope Leo XIII., but from a multitude of other sources hitherto never examined. And the notes and references given by our author shew the prolific use he has made of the manifold advantages so liberally placed within his reach. And these notes also testify to the trustworthy character of his history. Moreover, "the Holy Father charged the Commissioners to see that the History of the Holy See and of the Church should be written with absolute truth as the only just and imperishable principle that the *historica veritas* ought to be supreme, of which we have a divine example in Holy writ, where the sins, even of Saints, are as openly recorded as the wickedness of sinners."

The second volume opens with a representation of the unsettled and unsatisfactory condition of the Church and the Roman States on the death, in 1447, of Eugenius IV., and of the threatening attitude of the King of Naples, and of the populace and Republican party in Rome. Of course, the first step to be taken was the election of a new Pope. The circumstances were very critical. It was most important, indeed most necessary, that the election should be unanimous, and there were many disturbing causes in the Conclave, but at last, Cardinal Tommaso Parentucelli, of Bologna, who had received the red-hat only ten weeks before, to the astonishment of the whole College, was unanimously elected. As the Cardinal of Portugal was leaving the Conclave he was asked whether the Cardinals had chosen a Pope. "No; the Pope has been chosen by God, not by the Cardinals," was his reply. The Sienese ambassador, after exhorting his countrymen to render thanks to Almighty God that so distinguished and holy a Pontiff had been given to the Church, continued in the following words: "Truly in the election God has manifested his power, which surpasses all human prudence

and Wisdom." All rejoiced that a Cardinal who had ever held aloof from party strife, against whom no one had aught to say, and who was known to all, should have been unanimously raised to the highest position. Parentucelli's election, the Professor remarks, had, however, a wider importance. It marked a chief turning point in the history of the Papacy, for with him the Christian Renaissance ascended the Pontifical throne.

Parentucelli was born at Sarzana in 1397. His father was a skilful physician, but by no means wealthy, and died while Tommaso was very young, leaving his widow very scantily provided for, so that it was impossible for the widow to continue the boy at Bologna University. She also re-married, and had several children by her second husband. Being thus left to his own resources, he was fortunate in obtaining an engagement as tutor in the family of a Florentine nobleman, and afterwards in that of Palla de Strozzi, the Nestor of the learned Florentine aristocracy. The two years spent in this city, which at that time was the centre of the Humanistic learning, were of the greatest advantage to Tommaso. It gave him the opportunity of pursuing his studies, developing the powers of the mind, forming that taste in literature and art, and that enthusiasm which afterwards bore such abundant fruit, and brought him into contact with all the greatest scholars of the day.

During his stay here he saved sufficient money to enable him to return to Bologna and resume his studies in the University there, where he took a Master's degree in Theology. His brilliant abilities and excellent conduct brought him under the notice of the saintly Bishop of that city, Niccolo Albergati, who took him into his service. Three years later he was ordained priest, and he remained in the service of this distinguished prelate for 20 years, until his death, being, indeed, his constant companion, his confidential servant and the Major Domo of his household and of his ecclesiastical establishment.

Upon Albergati's elevation to the purple, Parentucelli accompanied him to Rome, and thence, with the Papal Court, to Florence, where he was brought again into contact with the representatives of both the Christian and Heathen Humanists, and in their social gatherings and disputations he took part. It is recorded that after leaving his Cardinal at home he used to come, riding rapidly on a mule and accompanied by two servants, to take his part eagerly in their disputations. He was employed by the Papal Court in the most important negotiations, and Eugenius IV., in recognition of his eminent services, conferred upon him the Bishopric of Bologna. But the city being in a state of revolt, he was rewarded with a Cardinal's Hat in 1446.

Cardinal Parentucelli on his election as Pope, mindful of his respect, esteem, and affection for his old master, Nicolo Albergati, assumed the name of Nicholas V. At the time he ascended the throne Europe was in a most disturbed condition. England and France were at war. In Germany the authority of Frederick III., King of the Romans, on whose fidelity the Pope could thoroughly rely, was shaken, and a great part of Bohemia was severed from the Church. The East was in a still worse condition. In Ecclesiastical affairs the case was no better, rather worse.

On his election Nicholas appeared as the Prince of Peace, and his conciliatory manner, tact, and prudent measures drew all men towards him. His predecessor waged deadly warfare against the enemies of the Church, but Nicholas V. desired the work which had been begun by force should be completed by gentle measures. And in this spirit he succeeded in winning all his opponents. He succeeded in inducing the King of Naples to send four ambassadors to Rome for the purpose of coming to an agreement with the Holy See, and of taking part in the ceremonies of the Pope's coronation. When the German ambassadors congratulated him upon his elevation, the Pope gave them assurances calculated to set all misgivings completely at rest. "I will," he said, "not only approve and confirm whatever my predecessor agreed upon with the German nation, but will also hold to it and carry it out. The Roman Pontiffs have stretched their arms out too far, and have left scarcely any power to the other Bishops, and the Basle people have crippled the hands of the Apostolic See too much."

An interesting account is given of the grand pageant of the procession at the Coronation of Pope Nicholas, for which we must refer to Professor Pastor's pages [33]. It is remarked that it was long since Rome had seen such festal days as those with which the coronation of Nicholas was celebrated. Ambassadors came from all parts of Italy, and afterwards from Hungary, England, France, and Burgundy, to promise obedience to the Holy See. The Florentine ambassadors were received with marked favour and distinction. They entered Rome attended by 120 horse, and were received by the Pope in a public consistory. The hall was crowded, and Granozzo Manetti made an address which lasted for an hour and a quarter. The Pope listened with closed eyes, in perfect stillness, so that one of the attendant chamberlains thought it well to touch him many times gently on the arm, believing him to have fallen asleep. But as soon as Manetti had finished, Nicholas V. at once arose, and, to the astonishment of all, answered every point of the long discourse. The circumstance made a great impression, and tended materially to extend the fame of the Pope. The able manner in which Nicholas V. answered the addresses of the different ambassadors who came to pay him homage produced the greatest effect. A report soon went forth through the various countries that Rome had as Pope a man of incomparable intellect, learning, amiability and liberality; and these were truly the qualities which won for Nicholas V. the appreciation of the world.

We have entered so fully into the characteristics by which the new Pope was marked to enable our readers to recognise how different from those of his predecessors were the character and abilities of the man by whom the Church and a great portion of the world were now governed. We must, however, leave this part of the subject, and give some attention to political affairs.

In the first place we must briefly revert to the Synod of Basle, the object of which, it will be remembered, was to change the monarchial constitution of the Papal States, but the scheme was defeated by Pope Eugenius IV., at which the few members who remained as Basle were greatly exasperated, and first they suspended Pope Eugenius and afterwards pronounced a formal sentence of deposition against him as a heretic, because he refused to obey the council. They went further and elected Duke Amadeus of Savoy Pope

by the votes of one cardinal and eleven bishops, and he took the name of Felix V. Many thereupon, from a horror of Radicalism and disunion, espoused the cause of Eugenius.

The power of the Basle Synod now steadily declined, and, happily, it did not continue long. Difficulties still existed, in 1447, with the German Empire. King Frederick III., and a few of the Princes provisionally recognised the Pope, but others favoured the Synod of Basle, and eventually it was decided that Nicholas V. should be proclaimed throughout Germany as the lawful Pope; and that he, on his part, should confirm the Concordat entered into by his predecessor. This Concordat was signed at Vienna on 13th July, 1448.

The anti-Pope and his adherents now saw that any further opposition to the authority of Nicholas V. was useless, and Felix expressed his willingness to renounce his papal dignity; and on 18th January, 1449, the Pope issued a Bull revoking all disabilities affecting Felix V., the Synod of Basle, and its adherents, their possessions and dignities, and the Moribund Council on the 10th April, was induced on the fiction of a vacancy of the Holy See, elected as Pope Tommaso of Sarzano, and in the same month formally dissolved itself; and this ending of the Basle Schism caused the greatest rejoicings. Pope Nicholas acted with the greatest liberality to the late anti-Pope. He bestowed upon him the dignity of Cardinal of Sancta Sabina, made him Papal Legate, and conferred several other dignities upon him, with a pension from the Apotolic Chamber. He died, however, on the 7th January, 1451. Dr. Pastor states his opinion that the restoration of the Papal authority was materially promoted by Nicholas V.'s perfect freedom from nepotism, and the care which he exercised in the creation of Cardinals, and, as an example, mentions that of the gifted Nicholas de Cusa, who united moral worth with intellectual qualities of the highest order.

The restoration of peace to the Church after so long a period of conflict appeared to Nicholas V. a suitable occasion for the proclamation of a universal Jubilee, and, notwithstanding the difficulties arising from war and pestilence, on the 19th of January, 1449, the Jubilee was proclaimed throughout Christendom, amid great rejoicing. Millions of people congregated at Rome, and caused great difficulties, but, for details, we must refer to Dr. Pastor's pages. We may simply remark here that in addition to the plague, which broke out among the teeming multitudes, a still more terrible calamity occurred, by which hundreds, perhaps thousands, of people were plunged in the Tiber, to the overwhelming consternation and grief of the Pope.

Though the spirit which ruled the Council of Basle had been quelled in the greater part of Europe through the religious zeal, tact, and energy of Nicholas V. it still smoldered beneath the surface in Germany and Bohemia, where the Hussite heresy was so deeply rooted as to appear again after many days.

The Pope now turned his attention to the question of Reform, but in consequence of the innumerable difficulties which supervened, nothing effective had yet been done. He selected Cardinal Nicholas de Cusa, of whom we have spoken above, to send as a missionary into the two countries we have just named. Cardinal Cusa was a prelate renowned for his learning

and purity of life. He was now commissioned to publish the Indulgence of the Jubilee, and to labour for the pacification of the kingdom, especially for the conclusion of the contest between the Archbishop of Cologne and the Duke of Cleves, and for the re-union of the Bohemians with the Church, but the chief object of his mission was to raise the tone of ecclesiastical life, and thoroughly to reform moral abuses in Germany. For carrying out this work he was appointed Legate in that country, with ample powers, and even authority to hold Provincial Councils.

The Cardinal understood the root of the malady with which the Church in Germany was afflicted. A Synod was formed for the purpose of strengthening the allegiance of Germany to the Pope, whose general recognition of Pope Nicholas V., was of but recent date, and by a thorough reform of the relaxed religious orders. It was decreed by the Synod, that "every Sunday henceforth all priests are, at Holy Mass, to use a prayer for the Pope, for the Bishop of the Diocese, and the Church." By this rule not only each Bishop, but each individual priest, was obliged weekly to renew his solemn profession of Communion with the Pope, and the consciousness of Ecclesiastical unity was rendered more vivid. An indulgence of fifty days was granted for its exact obedience.

This politic measure was most effective. It bound the clergy of this vast province by the closest ties to the Holy See, and formed a powerful check against Schismatical movement.

In March, 1451, the Cardinal Legate issued a circular letter to all Benedictine Abbots and Abbesses of the Province of Salsburg informing them, that, in virtue of the Papal commission, he had appointed Martin, Abbot of the Scotch Foundation at Vienna; Lorenz, Abbot of Maria Zell; and Stephen, Prior of Melks, Apostolic Visitors of their Order. Having God before their eyes, and without regard to any other consideration, they were carefully and exactly to investigate and report upon the condition of the convents. In the event of resistance they were to invoke the aid of the secular arm, and to apprize the Legate, so that he might take all proper proceedings. They were, above all things, to insist upon the observance of the three essential vows, of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Dispensations accorded in former visitations were, without exceptions, revoked as contrary to the rule. A plenary indulgence, on the condition of the performance of an appointed penance, was to be granted to those religious who by their lives shewed themselves worthy of it. The document concludes by exhorting all concerned to receive the visitors with honour, and unreservedly to make known everything to them. All, without distinction of rank, were to be regarded as excommunicate, and their monasteries as under an interdict, in cases of disobedience, after the lapse of three days following the service of the monition required by the canons.

Similar measures were adopted for the reform of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine by other visitors.

While Nicholas de Cusa was thus laboring in northern Germany the celebrated Minorite preacher, St. John de Capistram, was equally zealous in the southern and eastern parts.

The Cardinal Legate during these proceedings for the reform of the Religious Houses was not neglecting the religious instruction of the people.

He, in his own person, presented the picture of a holy life, and he deemed it the duty of those who held the highest place in the Church to exercise the office of preachers, and he everywhere proclaimed the word of God to both clergy and laity, and his practice agreed with his preaching. "His example," it is said, "was even more powerful than his sermons," and it appears that John de Capistram was even a more powerful preacher than the Cardinal. The effect of their sermons was indeed marvellous. But all this was not done without serious difficulties. Many supporters of the Basle schism remained in Germany and Bohemia, and did their worst in opposition. It is said that "the work done by Cardinal Cusa as Legate in Germany and Low Countries may be looked upon as the most glorious of his well-spent life."

The next matter that engaged the Pope's attention was the coronation in Rome of King Frederick III. as Emperor, and to this was added, at the same time, his marriage to Donna Leonora, daughter of the King of Portugal. The Pope at first was not at all in favour of this design, but as the King insisted upon carrying it out the Pope yielded, and both solemnities were celebrated with the greatest pomp and rejoicing. Wherever the King appeared he was received with the utmost reverence and respect. On his arrival at Florence the clergy came to meet him outside the city, bearing the Host, and all knelt, and with them noble ladies and maidens, all decked out and adorned with the best that they had, and all received the King on their knees; and with them a multitude of common folk, men, women and children. For the particulars of magnificent pageants and processions we must again refer to Dr. Pastor's pages. Frederick expected to derive greatly increased power and influence from this advancement to the imperial dignity, but he was disappointed. He was neither in power nor character a fitting representative of the highest dignity in Christendom.

The chapter relating to the Pope's patronage of the Renaissance in Art and Literature is one of very great interest. We have already noticed [ante p. 134] that from his youth the Pope had manifested an ardent love of learning, and for the ideal in Art in all its forms. During his residence in Florence he took an active interest in the social meetings and disputations of the Humanists, both heathen and christian. After his election as Pope, when the affairs of the Church and the States of the Church had become settled, and abundant treasure had flowed into his coffers with full confidence in the truth and power of the christian religion, he thought himself justified in indulging his taste, he placed himself at the head of the Renaissance in Literature and Art. He formed a grand conception to rebuild Rome and make it the centre of the Church and of Literature and Art. He began his rebuilding on a most magnificent scale, and the collection of a grand library, upon which he lavished enormous sums of money. He spared no expense. He gathered around him the most learned men and accomplished artists from all countries. Though himself a sincere christian, he was less scrupulous than he ought to have been as to the characters of the persons he admitted to his service. We must, however, pass over this part of our subject and refer our readers to Professor Pastor's volume, observing that we think this chapter the most interesting in it.

The conspiracy in 1453 to overthrow the temporal sovereignty, and assassinate the Pope and the Cardinals if they attempted to offer any resistance,

naturally caused great alarm and excitement. The traitor was a man of an ancient family, and one who had rendered good service to the State, but he was one of the false humanists. He and some of his associates were arrested, tried and hanged. It greatly alarmed and shocked the timid and impressionable Pope. From this time he lost all confidence. All his magnificent undertakings on behalf of Art and Learning ceased. His peace of mind was gone. He became melancholy, reserved, and inaccessible, the conspiracy casting a gloom over his once cheerful temper, which had already been shaken by serious illness. He had scarcely recovered from this shock when another terrible blow fell upon him on hearing that Constantinople had been taken by the Turks.

Whilst Pope Eugenius was at Ferrara after quitting the Council of Basle on the 4th March, 1439, the Greek Emperor, John Palæologus, with a great train of dignitaries and theologians, appeared, and four days afterwards the Greek Patriarch arrived. Eusebius had previously convened the members of the assembly to a solemn congregation to discuss the dogmatical division between the two branches of the Catholic Church. The discussions continued for more than a year, during which the Synod had been adjourned to Florence, where the Greeks, at length, gave way, and a document, in which the conditions of union were laid down, was signed by all present, on 5th July, 1439, with the exception, Professor Pastor says, of some bitter opponents among the Greeks, and the following day it was solemnly read in the Cathedral.

There was great rejoicing that the great schism between the East and the West was thus healed, but alas ! the union was very brief. When the Greeks returned to Florence it was found impossible to get the decree ratified. The Greek priests and people manifested the most violent rage and hatred against the Romans, whom they designated as Schismatics, protesting they would rather receive the Turban in the street than the Tiara. They had not long to wait. Mahomet was at the gates with 160,000 men at his back, whilst the Greek force did not number 7000. Mahomet found a house divided against itself, and the natural consequence ensued. The neighbouring Christian Princes were much in the same condition, whilst the European Sovereign powers were either at war among themselves or on the verge of it. The Pope only sent reinforcements, and they were too late to render assistance. The Emperor himself was the only man who shewed any courage. He made an heroic defence, but was slain, and the Turks entered the city on the 29th May, 1453, and its fall, when known, spread consternation throughout Europe.

It has been said that grief for this event, and the terrible calamities arising out of it, killed Pope Nicholas V., but Professor Pastor tells us that this may have been an exaggeration. Doubtless, though he had been very seriously ill for some months, the agitation and anxiety consequent upon these troubles acting upon his sensitive mind, probably hastened his end. He had succeeded in the great object which he had set before himself on his accession to the throne, the establishment of peace within his dominions, but the conspiracy of Porcaro aroused the old spirit of revolution, and caused him very great anxiety, and in the night between the 24th and 25th March, 1454-5, he was taken to his Rest.

The Pope's death had been considered imminent for some two or three weeks before it occurred, and those most interested in it were secretly making their arrangements. As the time approached great excitement prevailed. The whole city was in an uproar, and the population rife for a revolt. It was therefore necessary that all the preliminaries for the election of a new Pope should be accomplished as soon as possible. The Conclave opened on the 4th April. On the day of the Popes' death the sacred college consisted of 20 members, of whom six were absent, but one of them returned in time for the election. On the occasion of this election, as on the last, nationality was of little consequence. The opposing factions consisted of the two great families, the Colonna and the Orsini. We shall pass over the details of the election, merely observing that the Colonna sought to gain adherents by prudence and affability, whilst the Orsini strengthened their material power. The Cardinals were greatly divided. Three scrutinies failed to give any decided result. Each portion was strong enough to prevent the success of the other, but not to attain its own. An excited mob was clamouring at the door. In this dilemma it was proposed to elect a neutral candidate, but this could not be agreed to, and, finally, to postpone the contest it was agreed to elect an old man whose life was nearly at an end, and on the morning of the 8th of April a Spanish Cardinal, the aged Alfonso Borgia, was declared elected by accession, and he took the name of Calixtus III.

The new Pope had done good service in many ways. He is represented as an old man of an honourable and virtuous life, austere towards himself, and amiable and indulgent towards others, and the poor and needy never sought his help in vain. His whole demeanour was marked by great simplicity ; splendour and pomp being most distasteful to him. His election, however, was at first by no means popular because he was a foreigner, but happily the feeling soon wore off. On the 20th April he was crowned according to the ancient custom, after which followed the homage of the Christian Princes on the 24th May, on which occasion Callixtus declared "his determination to combat the foes of the Christian faith and to reconquer New Rome, not sparing even his own life in the cause, although he deemed himself unworthy to win the Martyr's Crown."

The jealousies and dissensions among the European Princes, which prevented their combination for the defence of Constantinople in the time of Nicholas V. continued to the accession of Calixtus, and the difficulties were aggravated by the turbulance of the Roman populace. The Pope, however, as we have seen above, was determined to recover that city and to drive the Turks out of Europe, if it were possible, and he made a solemn vow to that effect, and repeatedly declared that next to the attainment of eternal life he desired nothing so ardently as the accomplishment of this vow. The enthusiasm with which he entered upon this contest was astonishing for a man of his age. No difficulties, no obtacles, no disappointments, no treachery on the part of others, affected his zeal or courage. Professor Pastor says "any one who has had the opportunity of looking over the 38 thick folio volumes in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, which contain the Acts of Calixtus III.'s short Pontificate, must be amazed at the immense energy manifested by the aged and sickly Pontiff. He mentions, moreover, two volumes preserved in the State Archives, the first beginning with the words "In nomine domini Amen." And he adds, "these forty volumes are far

from containing all the Acts of the Pontiff. Besides these a number of volumes of the Acts of Calixtus III. have recently been found in the Archives of the Lateran.

The Pope's first step was the solemn publication of a general crusade for the recovery of Constantinople and the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and he despatched envoys to all Christian states, great and small, urging their Rulers to unite with him in this great undertaking, and to contribute liberally to the expenses of the war. He also claimed the assistance of the Religious Orders requiring the Heads of all the Orders respectively immediately to give up all other engagements and devote themselves to preaching the Crusade.

Many of the Kings and Rulers affected to enter warmly into the undertaking. But alas! the duplicity of man. All made excuses of one kind or other, and some appropriated the moneys they had received, or which had been entrusted to them for the purposes of the expedition, to their own use. The only bright spot which cheered the heart of the Pope was the great victory at Belgrade.

Mahomet, after the capture of Constantinople, determined to extend his conquests to Servia and Hungary, which was the power he most dreaded, and in June, 1456, invested Belgrade, the bulwark of Vienna, with an army of 150,000 men. Want of space forbids our entering into the spirited details connected with this expedition. Suffice it to say that the Turkish army was twice defeated before Belgrade with enormous slaughter, and with the loss of all his material of war. It was defended by the heroic conduct of a force hastily raised by that famous Hungarian, Hunyadi, consisting of 7000 men, composed chiefly of poor citizens and peasants, monks, hermits, and students, armed with axes, pikes, flails, pitch-forks, and such other rural weapons as they could collect. The generalship of Hunyadi, seconded by the zeal of St. John Capistram, did the rest.

The glorious victory won by Christian arms cheered the heart of the Pope. He hoped it would arouse the Christian Princes from their sluggish and selfish lethargy, but no! they remained as indifferent as before. The Pope's courage, however, failed not. He was faithful and courageous to the cause unto death, which occurred on 6th August, 1458.

Calixtus III. had one grievous fault. His *Nepotism* exceeded that of any previous Pope. The lucrative dignities and offices which he conferred upon his unworthy nephews were very numerous, and enabled them to amass great wealth, but these gifts were exceeded by the shameless immorality and insolence of these worthless men, though the eldest, Pedro, managed to conceal his flagrant wickedness from the Pope. Both were raised to the purple, and the Pope granted them his own name "Borgia," which in them became detested. Except for this gross nepotism, Professor Pastor says, "Calixtus III. deserves high praise, more especially for the energy, constancy, and purpose which he displayed in dealing with the burning question of the day—the Protection of Western Civilization from the Turkish power. In this matter he gave a grand example to Christendom, and it is to be observed that in the midst of the military and political interests which claimed so large a share of his time and attention he did not neglect the internal affairs of the Church and vigorously opposed heresies."

As soon as it was known that the Pope was *in extremis*, Pedro de Borgia, knowing how greatly and justly he was detested by the Romans, and that by the Pope's death his life would not be safe for an hour, with great difficulty made his escape from the city, and fled for his life. His brother and the other Spaniards who had flocked into Rome followed his example or concealed themselves.

The Cardinals before the end of July had entered into negotiations as to who should be successor to Calixtus in the chair of St. Peter, and unanimously came to the conclusion that Domenico Caprani, Cardinal of Fermo, whose moral purity and many rare qualities, which were known to all men, should be elected ; but, to the great grief of everyone, he died a few days after Calixtus, and before he could be elected. "Two days later," Dr. Pastor says, "the Conclave began, and from it issued as Pope a Cardinal distinguished alike as a Statesman and an Author, who had once been Secretary to the Cardinal of Fermo.

ST. MARK'S, OR THE MAYOR'S CHAPEL, BRISTOL (formerly called "The Gaunts"). By W. R. BARKER, *Member of the Council of the City and County of Bristol. Illustrated.* Bristol: W. C. Hemmons, 1892.

THIS is a very interesting and carefully written volume. It is divided into two Parts: HISTORICAL and DESCRIPTIVE. As to the first Mr. Barker tells us that the Hospital of St. Mark was founded by Maurice de Gaunt, who died in 1230, s.p. He was the grandson of Robert Fitz Harding, the first Baron Berkeley of Berkeley Castle, and he granted the Manor of Billeswick, in Gloucestershire, close to Bristol, for its support. He was succeeded by his nephew Robert de Gournay the son of Eva de Gournay the half-sister of Maurice and sole heir of Hawise daughter of Robert de Gournay and first wife of Robert de Were the father of Maurice. Mr. Barker considerately shews this somewhat complicated pedigree in a tabular form.

With reference to the HISTORY, Mr. Barker traces it from the grant of the endowment down to the surrender of the House to the King in 1534. The first two charters he prints do not at first sight appear to have but a very slight connection with the Hospital of Billleswick. It is a grant, by a charter undated, of the Manor of Poulet and some other lands and tenements with 40 marks of silver by Maurice de Gaunt to God and to the Church of St. Augustine, near Bristol, and to the Canons Regular there serving God for the good of the soul of the said Maurice and for the souls of his father and mother, his wives, and all his ancestors and successors ; and he ordained that the said lands and tenements, &c., shall be in free and perpetual alms for one hundred poor in Christ who are to be recipients, and one chaplain, who shall celebrate the divine offices for the faithful, in the cleemosynaria, which I have built, every day in the year.

As stated above, this charter is not dated, but Mr. Barker has, from internal evidence, assigned its date, approximately, to about 1220. William, the son of John Harptree, the first witness to the charter, died ante 1231, s.p.

Maurice de Gaunt died in 1230, and was succeeded by his nephew, Robert de Gurnay who, apparently immediately afterwards, confirmed, in

general terms, his uncle's grant. This charter of confirmation also is undated, but among the names of the witnesses is that of Anselm, Bishop elect of St. David's. This Bishop was elected in 1228, and was consecrated in March, 1230, so that he must have witnessed the charter between those dates.

It will be observed that by these charters the lands and tenements were vested, absolutely, in the Abbots and Canons of St. Augustine's together with the control of the Brethren for whose support they were granted. The deed, or document, transferring these possessions to the Hospital is missing. Mr. Barker infers that there was a distinction between the Hospital and the Chapel, and that the eleemosynaria was distinct from the latter, but we would ask did not the eleemosynaria, or almshouse, which the founder says he had built, embrace the chapel. It seems to us inconceivable that the religious house was destitute of a chapel. Possibly, at first, the chapel might have been only a temporary one.

The next record shows that the whole property had become absolutely vested in Robert de Gurnay, who by a charter said to be dated in the 61st year of Henry III., granted the same to the Hospital, but there is a serious error here which appears to be due to Dugdale, and is quoted without remark. Henry III. died early in his 57th regnal year, viz., 16th Nov. 1272. But our difficulties do not end here. The name of the first person who witnesses this charter is that of Radolph, Bishop of Chichester and Lord Chancellor. This must have been Ralph Nevill, who was elected Bishop 1223, consecrated 1224, and died 1244. The next witness was a better known and still more remarkable man, and of more importance for our purpose, Hubert de Burg, described as Justiciar of England. He was made Justiciar in 1219, Earl of Kent in 1226, was deprived of his office in 1231, and died 1243. Indeed it is believed that King Henry survived every one of the witnesses to this charter. It is very important to fix, if possible, the dates of dateless charters. When will historical writers cease "the follow my leader" system, like a flock of geese? Moreover, it will be observed that Robert de Gurnay, in annulling any agreement which may have been aforetime made between himself and the canons of St. Augustine as to the first-fruits, &c., henceforth the administration of the alms, lands, &c., shall remain in the hands of the said chaplains (the chaplains of the hospital now increased to three) who shall choose from among themselves, or from others, a sufficient man as Master. It is clear that at this date no master had as yet been appointed. Nor is it shown on what date Henry de Gaunt was elected the Master. In fact though a Master of the establishment had been recognised we have no record of the appointment of such an officer for many years. Possibly the delay was caused by the jealousy and ill-feeling which animated the canons of St. Augustine's on account of the removal of the control of the Hospital from them to the Brethren.

Henry de Gaunt is stated on the authority of Leland to have been a younger brother of the founder, Master Almoner of the Hospital, *and a Knight.* For several reasons this tradition, though possible, would seem to be improbable. The statutes of the Hospital, if we may call the Charter Regulations by that name, provide very distinctly that the Master must be in Holy Orders, and it would seem to us very unlikely that in the very first appointment made these regulations, in which so many persons were concerned, a *Knight* would be elected, and, if elected, that the Bishop would

have confirmed him. Moreover, it is still more unlikely that the circumstance should not have been noticed in any one of the original records connected with the Hospital, or that, considering the strained relations between the canons of St. Augustine's and the Brethren of St. Mark such a breach of an imperative rule could be smothered up. Mr. Barker states that the Hospital did not escape adverse criticism, but this grave charge was not brought against them. Again, Henry de Gaunt is not in any original document printed in this volume styled a *Knight*, or described as "*Master Almoner*." We believe he must have been not merely "Master Almoner" but Master and Governor of the whole House, nothwithstanding the random statements of Leland centuries after the events, like many of his statements, must be rejected as being unhistorical.

The only instance in which we have seen the name of Henry de Gaunt mentioned in an original document is in the Ordination of the Hospital made by the Bishop of Worcester at Henbury in 1268, in which he is said to be joint founder with Robert de Gurnay, and we see that he did give lands jointly with Robert de Gournay, and certain rights in Deliomure and Lynagan, in Cornwall (these places are now known as Dellyconoure and Lannagan. They are situate in the parish of S. Teath, and it is stated by Mr. Barker, also on the same authority, that this Henry resigned the Mastership on account of age and infirmity, and died in this same year.

There are many matters brought under notice subsequently to the foundation of the Hospital and the settlement of the regulations for the governance of the House, the details of which are of much interest, as is the routine of the daily duties of the Brethren. But for a long period the House was greatly disturbed by the interminable quarrels with the Canons of St. Augustine and internecine strife among the Brethren themselves. The Masters seem to have been incapable of maintaining discipline, and irregularities and malversation naturally ensued, but the end was close at hand. On the 11th Sept. 1534 (36th Henry VIII.) the House was surrendered to the King by John Coleman the Master, and his four brethren, to which number they had become reduced.

Mr. Barker gives us a schedule of the possessions of the House, and further a list of the pensions assigned to the dispossessed Brethren; and also another schedule of the chapel, lands, manors, rents, &c., which the mayor and commonalty of Bristol purchased for £1000.

During 50 years succeeding the transfer of the chapel and estates of the Gaunts House to the Mayor and Commonalty the history of the house was almost entirely unrecorded, but sufficient has been gleaned by Mr. Barker from the corporation records to shew the continuity of the narrative. No great change would appear to have taken place in the structure of the premises or the Chapel. Divine service was continued in the latter, it is presumed daily, by the pensioned brothers of the old House, in succession, who were content, it is said, to conform to the new order of things for the liberal stipend of £2 a year, in addition to the pension of £6 granted to them as compensation for the loss of their homes, but in 1586 the work of destruction appears to have commenced. Down to this date the cloister garth continued in existence. Mr. Barker cites instances from the city accounts of repairs to the cloister down the end of the 17th century. In 1700-1 there

were considerable repairs effected, and under that year he writes: "The question now arises, when, and under what circumstances, did the demolition of the cloisters and the north transept take place? Under the date 1587 an entry appears in the audit book relating to the repair of the "Cloysters." At this time, doubtless, the cloisters were intact, with the various Hospital buildings grouped around them, but the time had nearly arrived when it is certain the old buildings were removed and a clearance of the ground effected to prepare for new erections on the site. There do not appear to be any further entries of repair to the cloisters. Instead of their being again repaired, they were improved out of existence, as was the north transept with which the cloister on that side communicated. This must have taken place between the above date, 1587, and the erection of the new city school building against the walled-up archway and window."

In the same accounts is found the following item:—"Paid 6th March, 1591, to Bird, Freemason, for removing the great tombs of the three Founders of the Gaunts which are set now at the upper end of the chancel, 10s."

The three founders to whom reference is here made must have been Maurice de Gaunt, Robert de Gurnay, and Henry de Gaunt, who in the Ordination made at Henbury in 1268 is described, as before remarked, as joint founder with Maurice de Gaunt. Mr. Barker is of opinion that the north transept was an appropriate resting-place for these memorials of the dead, and they had remained there undisturbed for 300 years, and that their removal then became necessary because of the contemplated destruction of the transept. And from an old carved stone found in the wall built up into the arch between the nave and the north transept bearing the date 1631, Mr. Barker considers that the demolition took place about that time. Many details of no little interest follow, but we must pass on to the recent restoration; nor have we space to enter into the preliminaries leading up to this interesting work. We must not, however, omit to notice one interesting incident in the history of the Chapel. It is its occupation for forty years by the French Protestant Refugees, who had to fly from their homes and country after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the circumstances of which are too familiar to need further mention.

Mr. Barker is specially well qualified to write an account of St. Mark's Chapel and the possessions of the House; and particulars of the restoration of this remarkable building are familiar to him, for he was privileged to watch the development of the work from day to day, and was witness to the objects brought to light. These, unfortunately, were comparatively very few. Mr. Barker, writing of the time of the accession of Queen Elizabeth, says: "In addition to the various alterations in the character of the religious services, already referred to, there can be no doubt that a complete transformation in the appearance of the chapel itself took place about this time. Many of the ornamental features were abolished as evil in tendency, or unsuited to the altered taste of the day. All evidences of the former monastic use of the building were either carefully concealed, mutilated or destroyed. One of the leading features of its architecture was completely obliterated by filling up the bays under the nave windows with false masonry, thus making the walls conventionally "playne." The lime-brush, which it has been already shown was used "artistically" on the pulpit, was no doubt

freely employed throughout the structure. All this was done either in sympathy with the wave of reaction against Romanism, which followed the dissolution of the monasteries, or during the subsequent days of Elizabeth when the fear of the return of Romanism preyed upon the public mind in consequence of the attitude of Mary Stuart, or still later, when the issue of the Ordinances of 1643-4 encouraged the further wholesale destruction of Church property. At the last named period especially, the veneration with which the churches of the land had formerly been regarded was openly outraged, and too often, as in the case of St. Mark's, when the principal structures were permitted to remain, essential parts were demolished to satisfy the whim of those in authority, or the demands of covetousness or destructiveness." Alas ! would we could say this spirit is wholly extinct now.

HANGING IN CHAINS. By ALBERT HARTSHORNE, F.S.A. London: Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, 1891.

THIS is a very remarkable book on a very gruesome subject, and Mr. Hartshorne has shewn great courage in undertaking to write it, and no less skill in the manner in which he has accomplished his self-imposed task. Though the subject is a ghastly one there is nothing in its treatment to offend the susceptibilities of the most delicate minded woman. The subject, however, is one of considerable historical and antiquarian interest. Mr. Hartshorne reminds us that the gallows and the gibbet are the most ancient instruments in the world used for inflicting capital punishment, and he cites many examples of their use in the earliest ages, both from Holy Scripture and ancient classic authors. Hanging in chains in early times had a two-fold object. Hanging, itself, was the punishment more especially due to the murderer for the great crime of which he had been convicted by a jury of his countrymen ; and, indeed, a very severe punishment it was, both mentally and physically, when the judge sentenced the culprit to be taken hence and hanged by the neck until he was dead. It was a gallows upon which he suffered death, and it was a gibbet upon which the body was afterwards publicly exposed. Hanging is now made easy. Death is usually instantaneous. It was not so in times gone by when the culprit was drawn to the gallows upon a dray or in a cart, and the rope being adjusted and securely fastened, the cart was driven from under him, and he was strangled by the weight of his own body. The suspension and exposure of the body after death was intended to have a deterrent effect, to strike awe into the spectators, and to be a warning to other evil doers. There has been much misapprehension as regards the term "*Hanging in Chains.*" It has been supposed by some that the criminal was hanged in chains while alive, and allowed slowly to perish on the gibbet in such barbarous and awful circumstances. Such instances, however, if ever they existed, were very rare in England, and external to the law. All men feel great horror at the exposure of the body. The natural desire is that it should return to the earth from whence it came, and Mr. Hartshorne remarks that the idea of being gibbetted was ever a terrifying one to the sufferer, and many a strong man who had stood fearless during the dread sentence broke down when he was measured for his irons." Mr. Hartshorne quotes the case of a notorious highwayman, John Whitfield, who

was executed and gibbeted on Barrock, near Wetheral, Cumberland, about the year 1777. It is said that he was gibbeted alive, and the guard of a passing mail-coach put him out of his misery by shooting him. But, as Mr. Hartshorne states, "If this were true the guard was clearly guilty of murder." Mr. Hartshorne is incredulous as to such cases of gibbeting alive. He says: "These and many other similar arbitrary statements might seem conclusive evidence; but, on the other hand, the *Statutes at Large* may be vainly searched to find one directing the punishment of gibbeting alive." And he comes to the conclusion that Holinshed and all the old modern hair-brained chatterers have been carried away by a superstitious belief in a poor, vulgar, fiction, a vain thing fondly imagined, and into which the multitude of to-day still appear to cling with a fatuous devotion, which, probably, no amount of education or refutation will ever entirely eradicate. This shews the strong vitality of fiction."

Mr. Hartshorne treats of many other and more cruel methods of execution of malefactors and, too often, of persons innocent of crime, in the usual acceptation of the term—religious martyrs and unfortunate patriots, but upon these sickening details we will not dwell. It will be sufficient to refer to the cruelties perpetrated upon the unfortunate abbots and friars in the 16th century, and upon the unfortunate Scots who, with undaunted loyalty and valour, fought for their lawful sovereign in the year—45.

Mr. Hartshorne describes many instances of gibbeting, and furnishes illustrations of the chains, &c., by which the bodies were suspended from the gibbets. *Fig. 10* represents two men hanging in chains from one gibbet on

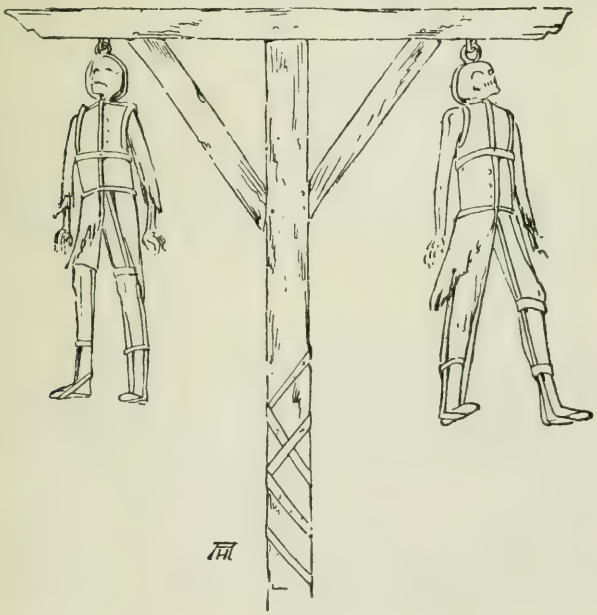


Fig. 10.

Brandon Sands, Suffolk, from a sketch made by the Rev. Thomas Kerick in 1785. Their names were May and Tybald, but the crimes for which they suffered have long since been forgotten. The Thames in the last century was infested by pirates, and the banks of the river were degraded by the exhibition of many a mouldering corse. Happily the hideous spectacle did not long survive that century. The last man gibbeted was named Cook, who was hanged at Leicester in 1834, but such a disgraceful scene of tumult and uproar occurred at the foot of the gibbet that an Act of Parliament was passed (4 William IV.) suppressing the revolting practice. A rusty iron cage, very skilfully made, was found hanging from a tree in Eastern Bengal, and the tradition was that the criminals were hung up alive.

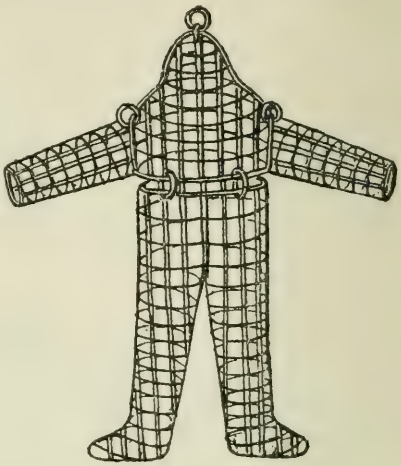


Fig. 11.

In NOTES AND QUERIES for the 23rd July, 1892, NEMO mentions that he had lately in reading found the word *gemmace* used as a noun to denote the iron cage in which the corpse of the convict posthumously exposed was enclosed when suspended from the gibbet. He has been unable to find the word *gemmace* in any dictionary, and is desirous of knowing its derivation. He suggests whether it has any connection with the obsolete word *gemmels* (a pair of hinges), supposing that such a frame-work as that depicted (*fig.* 11) "was opened by a hinge down the back, following the line of the vertebræ, and rivetted over the chest and abdomen." The cage figured in the margin does not appear to have been fastened in this manner, but, apparently, was divided horizontally at the waist, and the two parts connected by rings, but that was not of European contruction. The word *gemmel* is still in use in heraldry, signifying a pair.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS (Domestic Series) of the reign of Charles I., 1645-47. Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Edited by William Douglas Hamilton, F.S.A., of the Public Record Office and the University of London. Under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and with the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department. London: Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office by Eyre and Spottiswoode, Printers to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, 1891.

The last volume of the Domestic State Papers edited by Mr. W. D. Hamilton was noticed in Vol. XIV. of our Transactions, p. 371. It brought down the history of that unhappy period to the fatal battle of Naseby, after which the unfortunate King's affairs became almost hopeless, and the Royalist

leaders proportionately depressed. The State Papers calendared in the present volume contain the narrative of the King's misfortunes from that sanguinary and crushing defeat on the 14th June, 1645, to the final collapse of the Royalist cause and the King's imprisonment in Carisbrooke Castle. The Papers are less numerous than in either of the two previous volumes, but they are of no less importance and interest. They comprise the letters of the King and Queen, and Royalist letters intercepted. The King's letters were chiefly addressed to the Parliament, earnestly desiring a peace. The Parliamentary leaders had too deeply compromised themselves to accept really any terms. Their consciences told them that whatever terms were agreed upon the King would be King still, and they feared the consequences. Their feeling was that their only safety was in the King's destruction. They had never any intention to make peace. Cromwell is accused of having said that "he hoped to see the day when there should be no King nor a Peer in England." The King was prepared to make many sacrifices for peace, but one thing, he said, he could not sacrifice—the Church. Writing to his Secretary, Nicholas, on the 25th August, 1645, in reply to his solicitations, he said: "let my condition be never so low, I am resolved, by the Grace of God, never to yield up the Church to the government of Papists, Presbyterians, or Independents; nor to injure my successors by lessening the crown of those ecclesiastical and military powers which my predecessors left me, nor to forsake my friends." Any attempt at a compromise in these circumstances was utterly hopeless.

From Naseby the King with his immediate supporters took refuge with the aged Marquis of Worcester at Raglan Castle, by whom he was received with a warm welcome and loyal and hearty sympathy, but from the Welshmen generally this was not the case. He arrived at Raglan on 3rd July, and remained there surrounded by difficulties, and, not the less evil, faithless council from his friends, for even his nephew, Prince Rupert, who was Governor of the important City of Bristol, was wavering in his constancy, and spoke of "treaty." The King called him over to Raglan, and two councils of war were held the same day, and the King resolved to go over to Bristol the day following; but with his usual irresolution he postponed the journey until the 22nd, when he proceeded to Crick, in Monmouthshire, where he required his nephew, who had returned to his charge at Bristol, again to meet him, but the Prince had to return to Bristol the same day. The King was so greatly disconcerted and unsettled that he determined to go back again to Raglan, where he arrived late at night to the surprise of everyone. At length, on the 24th, he did make up his mind to cross the channel at the New Passage, and presented himself at the place of embarkation, but the warm-hearted Welsh gentry, on the receipt of the news of the fall of Bridgwater, prevailed upon him to abandon his design. He returned to Cardiff, and whilst there, intelligence was brought him of the approach of the Scottish army under the the Earl of Leven into Herefordshire. He was, from many causes, placed in great difficulty and danger. The small force at his command was insufficent to meet the Scots under Lord Leven in the field in case of their possible advance, and he determined to return to Oxford. His friends were urging him to make the best terms he could with the Parliament for the sake of peace. Rupert had written to him to this effect, and before leaving Cardiff the King replied in a letter dated 3rd

August of great force : "If I had any other quarrel but the defence of my religion, crown, and friends, you had full reason for your advice, for I confess, that, speaking as to mere soldier or statesman, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin ; yet, as a Christian, I must tell you that God will not suffer rebels and traitors to prosper nor His cause to be overthrown ; and whatever personal punishment it shall please Him to inflict upon me must not make me repine, much less give over this quarrel ; which, by the grace of God, I am resolved against, whatever it cost me ; for I know my obligations to be both in conscience and honour, neither to abandon God's cause, injure my successors, nor forsake my friends." This is a clear, firm, statesmanlike and dignified letter, but it does not appear to have had any beneficial effect on the impulsive Rupert.

Two days afterwards, 5th August, the King wrote to his son, Prince Charles from Brecknock to this effect:—"It is very fit for me now to prepare for the worst in order to which I spoke to Culpepper this morning concerning you, judging it fit to give it to you under my hand, that it may give the readier obedience to it. Wherefore, know that my pleasure is, whensoever you find yourself in apparent danger of falling into the Rebells hands, that you convey yourself into France, and there to be under your mother's care, who is to have the absolute power of your education in all things, except religion, and in that not to meddle at all, but leave it entirely to the care of your tutor, the Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Brian Duppa), or to whom he shall appoint to supply his place in time of his necessitated absence. And for the performance of this I command you to require the assistance and obedience of all your council, and by their advice the service of everyone whom they and you shall adjudge fit to be employed in this business, which I expect should be performed, if need require, with all obedience and without grumbling.

From Brecknock the King pursued his journey towards Oxford, taking the mountain ways, in which he suffered many privations, in order to avoid the Scottish army now closely investing Hereford. The low estate to which he had become reduced was manifested by his inability to render any succour in answer to a strong appeal from that greatly distressed city which he had received before he left Cardiff.

We do not know the precise date on which the King reached Oxford, but his first thought was the relief of Hereford. He remained at Oxford but two days to make his arrangements. By a sudden and rapid march he so surprised the investing force just as they were prepared to storm the city. All things being ready, they received intelligence that the King was close at hand. A panic took place, and the same night, in the graphic words of the gallant and resolute Governor, Sir Barnabas Scudamore, "the Scottish mist began to disappear and the next morning had entirely vanished ont of sight." The King entered the city in triumph on 4th September at the head of 3000 horsemen. A graphic account of this resolute attack and heroic defence may be read in Rev. John Webb's "Memorials of the Civil War," 2 vols, 8vo, Vol. II., p. 216 et seq.

The King remained at Hereford a few days. On the 7th he attended a solemn thanksgiving in the cathedral for his success, and on the 11th he proceeded again to Raglan by way of Abergavenny. The object, of this visit, Symonds says, was to commit five chief hinderers to relieving

Hereford. Four of these culprits, Webb says, were Sir Trevor Williams, Morgan (of Tredegar?) . . . . Herbert of Colebrook, and Baker. Williams was the first who afterwards threatened Raglan at the head of armed men. Whilst at Raglan the King first heard of the fall of Bristol. His anger was naturally kindled against his nephew. He rebuked him for his misconduct and withdrew all his commissions, telling him he had better find his future employment out of England. There were not wanting causes of suspicion that the Prince had been unfaithful, and we are told that in Paris the Queen "gave it out openly" that the place had been "sold for money." The Prince, however, wrote from Oxford on 18th Sept. to his uncle in a very modest and becoming letter in which he complains that "if your Majesty had vouschafed me so much patience as to hear me inform you before you had made a final judgment (I will presume to present thus much) that you would not have censured me, as it seems you do, and that I should have given you as just satisfaction as in any former occasions though not so happy. But there is so great appearance that I must suffer, that it is already decreed, otherwise I should have desired to have given your Majesty an account [of] now I am obliged to seek for my own clearing that what you will have me to bear may be with as much honour to me as belongs to integrity. If your Majesty will admit me to that opportunity I desire to wait on you to that end as soon as I can."

He afterwards, by a ruse, obtained access to the King's presence, but it does not appear that matters were much mended thereby, though the family quarrel was subsequently allayed.

On the 14th September the King finally left Raglan and his kind and hospitable host, never to meet again in this life, and marched towards Chester with the hope of delivering that city from the grasp of Brereton. Gerrard's horse were waiting for him about Ludlow. The place of rendevous was King Arthur's stones, but the King being intercepted by Col-General Poyntz with 2000 horse drew off towards Bromyard. The King returned again the following day, but Gerrard's men had not received their orders in time. Poyntz's orders from Derby house were to march up close to the King's party to prevent their impeding the work in progress at Chester. The King's march was therefore extremely difficult. Poyntz's persevering watchfulness checked him at every turn. On the 22nd the King reached Chirk Castle and heard that the outworks of Chester had already fallen. He sent off to entreat Lord Byron, the Governor, to hold out for yet 24 hours, and on the 23rd he entered the city, but alas! found Poyntz approaching on the other side.

The battle of Rowton Heath took place on the following morning. Langdale, with his worn out troopers, charged and drove back Poyntz, but was taken in the rear by the besieging force under Jones, and utterly routed. Nine hundred Royalists were taken as prisoners to Nantwich, including many gentlemen of name. The young Earl af Lichfield, the King's kinsman, was slain in attempting to stay the rout. He is described as a faultless young man, of a most courteous and affable disposition, and of a spirit and courage invincible. He was greatly beloved. This success was a great triumph for the Parliament, for a considerable body of horse which continued faithful to the King was entirely broken and dispersed.

From this date the King's affairs became more and more unsatisfactory. He could no longer bring a force into the field to cope with that of his enemies. Some of the more sanguine and dauntless spirits would resist to the last, and manifested prodigies of valour, though it was no more than a guerilla warfare, and had become useless, and only increased the impoverishment and sufferings of the people, and the confiscations of the landed gentry. But the battle of Stow-on-the-Wold, on the 24th March, 1645-6, in which the Royalists suffered a crushing defeat, and their army being broken and dispersed, finally extinguished all hope.

On 5th May following, on the advice of Mon. Montreuil, the French agent, the King took refuge in the Scots' camp, near Newark. He was eventually delivered into the hands of the English Parliament and confined in Carisbrooke Castle.

Mr. Hamilton is one of the best Calendarists in the Record Office. His abstracts, as in his previous volumes, so in this, are concise and clear, and contain all the historical information the student requires. We anxiously look forward to his next volume, which will contain the sad sequel of this deplorable story.

LANDBOC, sive Registrum Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ Virginis et Sancti Cénhelmi de Winchelcumba in Comitatu Gloucestrensi Ordinis Sancti Benedicti. E. Codicidus MSS. Penes Pronobilem Dominum de Sherborne. Edente DAVID ROYCE, M.A., ex Aede Christi, Oxonii, Vicario de Netherswell. Volumen Primum, Ab Anno secundo Regni Regis Cénuulfi ad annum sextum Regni Regis Edwardi Tertii, A.D. 798—A.D. 1332. Exoniæ : Typis Willelmi Pollard et Socii MDCCCXCII.

MR. ROYCE has just issued to his subscribers the first volume of the LANDBOC, or Cartulary of the great Abbey of Winchcombe. He has prefaced it by a carefully prepared Introduction, giving the history of the ancient Monastery and its possessions from its foundation by King Cénwulf in A.D. 798 to 1332. He states that this history is based upon the four county histories, of which he considers Fosbrooke's as the most exhaustive, so far as Winchcombe is concerned, as Fosbrooke has culled Prynn's invaluable abstract of this LANDBOC. The editors of Dugdale, he says, have added much relating to the Monastery, and he further cites Mrs. Dent's beautiful and trustworthy volume, "The Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley." He divides his historical Preface into three sections: I. The Town ; II. The Monastery ; and III. The Landboc of the Monastery.

The author points out that in pre-Norman times Winchcombe, or Wincelcombe, formed a shire of itself called Wincelcombeschire, which is supposed to have included the present Hundreds of Kiftesgate, Slaughter, Cheltenham, Cleeve and Tibboldestone

We do not seem to have had any knowledge of Winchcombe earlier than the eighth century, so, casting tradition aside, we will accept its history from the foundation of the Abbey, as stated above. Mr. Royce briefly sketches its history, and relates many interesting incidents during the long period which elapsed between 798 and 17th July, 1535, when Thomas Cromwell went down to Sudeley Castle profesedly to prepare for the Royal

visit in the progress during July, August and September in that year. Three motives are assigned, Mr. Royce says, for the King's visit at this time: first, the consumption of provisions of his Manors of Sudeley, Berkeley, and Thornbury, a common practice of great lords at that time; the King's desire to be absent from the scene of the execution of Sir Thomas Moore; and a stock-taking survey of the possessions of the Monastery. The King arrived at Sudeley, accompanied by Anne Boleyne, on Wednesday, July 21st, and remained to the Monday following. We think, however, that the first reason assigned would be a sufficient explanation without attributing to the King, at all events, the last. But the end of the famous Abbey of Winchcombe was close at hand. On 3rd December, in the same year, Abbot Mountslow and his monks surrendered it, with all its possessions, into the King's hands, and "Henry," Mr. Royce says, "profanely wasted Cénwulf's pius work. The work of demolition and destruction at once began."

Relating to this early period Mr. Royce prints divers records consisting of Subsidy Rolls, Extracts, in English, from Hundred Rolls, Inquisitions, *post mortem*, and other documents of more than local interest, and all amply annotated.

The first manorial court of the manor was holden in the month following the surrender of the abbey, when all the tenants in the town were attorned to appear before Thomas Lord Cromwell, as Chief Steward there, represented by Anthony Ayleworth and Christopher Laighlyne jointly assigned commissioners for this term only. The names of all the tenants are given with divers notes, together with the Abstracts of various Wills in the Probate Court of Gloucester, for which Mr. Royce acknowledges his obligation to the Rev. T. P. Wadley, Honorary Member of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archæological Society, to whom the Society is indebted for many similar acts of courtesy.

Eight months after the surrender, viz., 2nd July, 1540, the King granted to Sir John Bridges, Constable of Sudeley Castle, the house and site of the Monastery with its houses in the town, and the capital Messuage of Corndene, for the term of 21 years at the annual rent of £45 7s. 4d., together with parcel of the Manor of Sudeley, at the rent of £28 6s. 8d. both together to be held by the service of the $\frac{1}{10}^{th}$ part of a knight's fee.

On 19th August, 1546 (which should be 1547, an inadvertent error), King Edward VI. granted all the above premises, together with the Manor of Winchcombe and the three Hundreds to his favorite uncle, Sir Thomas Seymour, Lord Seymour of Sudeley. Hen. VIII. was still alive on the 19th Aug. 1546, and Edw. VI. did not become King until 28th Jan. 1546-7. On the 16th of the following month Sir Thomas Seymour was created Baron Seymour of Sudeley, and his marriage with the Queen dowager was not solemnized until after the 4th June, 1547, and the Queen had not any connection with Sudeley until after this event. When Lord Seymour obtained the grant of these lands, it is presumed in fee, Sir John Bridges surrendered his lease and the Constableship of Sudeley Castle. Lord Seymour became a victim to the machinations of his enemies. The bill for his attainder was passed 6th March, 1548, and he was executed on the 20th of the same month. He left an infant orphan daughter, who was restored in blood by Act 3 and 4 Edward VI., but died soon afterwards.

Seymour's lands having become forfeited by his attainder they were granted by the King on the 12th June, 1550, to William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, who being himself attainted in 1554 they again reverted to the crown ; and on the 8th of April in that year Queen Mary granted them to Sir John Bridges before mentioned, upon whom she conferred the dignity of Baron Chandos of Sudeley with reversion to Elizabeth his wife. It should be noticed, that the house and site of the abbey only were granted. No mention of the Manor of Winchcomb is made, nor is there any further remainder.

Mr. Royce traces the devolution of the Manor of Winchcombe in the family of Bridges, or Chandos, down to George, 6th Lord Chandos, a very gallant soldier, who was ruined by the great sacrifice he made for the King in the civil war. His lands passed by purchase to various individuals.

Much information of great local interest, both ecclesiastical and secular, especially as concerning the churches and the institutions of ministers to the said churches and chantries, for which we must refer to Mr. Royce's pages, and pass on to the third and principal section—

THE LANDBOC OR CARTULARY OF THE ABBEY LANDS.

This Landboc commences with some miscellaneous charters and documents of various dates. These are all in latin, printed in extenso, with brief titles and with marginal descriptive notes. The charters, proper, commence A.D. 798 and are continued to 1332. They contain various grants to the abbey, and by the abbots and convent to various individuals. The names of many of the parties are, to our taste, very peculiar, *e.g.* We find mentioned one Godwin Greahoundesnose, and his son Frewine Porenose. Unfortunately the scribe who recorded the charters in the original Landboc did not think it necessary to record the names of the witnesses, and they are often wanted.

All persons who take an interest in Gloucestershire lands and history ought to be deeply grateful to Lord Sherborne for the liberal manner in which he has allowed this Landboc to be transcribed and published ; and to the Rev. David Royce for the great labour and pains he has bestowed in the production of this handsome and scholarly volume, of which another volume is to follow in due course, to which we anxiously look forward. Both the editor and printers deserve great credit for the handsome manner in which the book is produced.

THE REGISTER OF WALTER DE STAPELDON, Bishop of Exeter, A.D. 1307-1326. By the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON-RANDOLPH, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford, Rector of Ringmore, and Prebendary of Exeter. London : George Bell and Sons. Exeter : Henry S. Eland, High Street ; William Pollard & Co., Printers, North Street, 1892.

THIS is the third volume which has been printed by Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph of the invaluable series of Episcopal Registers of the Diocese of Exeter, though they are not quite in chronological order. The earliest in date of the series is Bishop Bronescombe's Register extending from from 1257-1307, containing also the remains yet extant of the Registers of Bishops Quivil and Bitton, the 13th and 14th of the Bishops of the See of Exeter in succession, and Bishop Stapeldon's Register, who was the 15th

Bishop of the See, is that now before us. But the Register of Bishop Stafford, who was the 19th Bishop of the See, was the first printed, and covers the period from 1395 to 1419.

Walter de Stapeldon was a native of Devonshire, being the son of William de Stapeldon and Mabilla his wife, and was born, it seems, at Annerly, his father's seat in the parish of Monkslegh. As a bishop he was learned, energetic, charitable, and bountiful in all good works. In secular matters he was one of the first statesmen of his age, incorruptible, faithful, and loyal to his King, which cost him his life, for he was murdered by the London mob with great barbarity and contumely on the 15th October, 1324.

Mr. Randolph gives an interesting life of this great prelate in his preface to this volume, to which we refer our readers ; and in the appendix a series of documents relating to his will, which are very interesting, and the more valuable because no copy of the will is known to be extant. The inventories of his goods and personal effects are of great interest both historically and archæologically, particularly as the value of every article, we suppose by appraisement, is stated. The roll is said to be 8 feet long and 10 inches wide. Unfortunately that portion of it which relates to the goods of the chapel has been greatly damaged by the use of galls, so much so, especially at the beginning, that many words are illegible. The books included in the inventory are very numerous, and this portion of the roll would seem to be in good condition, and the appraised value is curious. The number of silver vessels and other pieces of silver is somewhat remarkable. The pieces are all particularly described, and generally the weight and value of each piece is given.

This inventory is followed by inventories of the live and dead stock on the episcopal manors and farms. We are also furnished with the accounts of the executors of the Bishop's will. He bequeathed a large number of legacies to poor scholars, to the repair of churches, making and repairing bridges and roads and to other pious uses. It is stated in Bishop Brantingham's Register, ii., fo. 6, that "Bishop Stapeldon not only complied with the ancient custom of his predecessors in leaving a hundred oxen to the see, forty to work the farms in Devon, thirty those in Cornwall, and thirty for those elsewhere ; but added another hundred oxen with directions that at his anniversary one hundred poor (persons) should then be fed in the hall at Exeter palace, or at its outer gate.—*Oliver's Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, *p.* 63.

We must now return to the General Index on the two fly-leaves, at the beginning of which occur divers documents relating to Bishop Stapeldon, which is followed by the Rent-Roll of the diocese dated in 1367-8, the year of the Bishop's consecration.

This index contains a full analysis of the volume, and shews the whole working of the diocese :—Institutions and collations of clerks to benefices, dispensations for non-residence, for the study of Sacred Theology or Canon Law, appointment of coadjutors to assist aged or disabled priests, the grant of pensions when necessary, licencing of chapels or oratories in manor houses, taxation or appointment of vicarages, letters demissory, Licencing of Confessors A curious case on the latter subject occurs under the date of 6th August, 1324. The Bishop states that the number of those who

were in the habit of resorting to his Penitentiary General for confession, especially in reserved cases, had recently become so great that the said Penitentiary was unable to deal with them all on account of the great distance of Cornwall from Exeter (where the said Penitentiary resides for the greater part of the year) and the considerable expenditure of labour and money involved in the work. It was, therefore, necessary to give him help; and the Bishop selected Master Robert, the Vicar of Liskeard, as a man of great industry, circumspection, trustworthiness and purity of conscience, giving him full authority to confess even those who had been convicted of such crimes as adultery and incest. There was to be no interference with the official action of the Penitentiary; and those who preferred to go to him were, still, at liberty to do so. And the Bishop reserved to himself the power to absolve in cases of wilful perjury for the purpose of disinheriting anyone, or impeding lawful marriages, as well as all such cases as he was accustomed to deal with, publicly, in his visitations of Cornwall, in the separate congregations, and numerous other functions in the administration of the diocese, too numerous to mention.

Under the name of "Oxford," in alphabetical order, we find Exeter College (*olim*) "Stapledone Halle," the Original Statutes of this foundation. These Statutes are of great interest, but, of course, much too long to reprint here. Preb. Randolph, however, gives the following brief history:—

Owing to the evils connected with the system of Students lodging all over the City of Oxford, Statesmen, like Walter de Merton in Henry the third's time, and Walter de Stapeldon under Edward the second, founded Colleges that the Students might live together, under a Rector, to maintain discipline and order. Their object was to establish a constant succession of poor and diligent Students, and train them for the service of God in Church and State. These Colleges were by no means Clerical Institutions. Stapeldon provides for thirteen Scholars (*i.e.* Fellows) twelve of them studying Philosophy, while the thirteenth was to be a Priest, studying Theology and Canon Law. Ten pence a week was allowed them for their commons; and besides this, the Rector had twenty shillings a year; the Priest, also, twenty shillings; and each Scholar ten shillings. The Fellowship ended three years after the Fellow had taken the degree of Master of Arts; so that men might be passed in considerable numbers through the University training, and then sent out into the world. Thus the Fellows were themselves all undergoing the process of training; and they were not Fellows as at present, for there were no other undergraduates in the College.

Mr. Randolph adds: "The modern Statutes, have, in some degree, reverted to Stapledon's plan. For their are twelve Fellowships, including the Chaplain, and about twenty-six Scholarships and twelve exhibitions; so that a considerable part of the funds is devoted to training men and passing them out into active life as Stapeldon wished. The Statutes of the early Founders are well worth reading for their shrewd and intelligent plans for benefitting the Church and Nation."

The Index contains much more of special interest, but want of space precludes us from continuing our remarks on this head. The next subject is a Register of Royal Letters and Writs, which is followed by a Record of Ordinations, which are very numerous.

We cannot conclude without offering our congratulations to Mr. Hingeston-Randolph upon the completion of the third volume of his laborious undertaking, rather, perhaps, we should congratulate his subscribers and the public at large upon the progress made with a work of such great value especially to archæological and topographical students of the West of England. Few persons, comparatively, can appreciate the labour required for the production of a work of this description. Nothing like it has been undertaken, so far as we know, in any other diocese in England, or is likely to be, and few could accomplish it with such accuracy, learning and skill as are displayed in these volumes.

It is very gratifying to know that Mr. Randolph has commenced the *Registers of Bishop Grandisson*, and that the first volume is already in press. Mr. Randolph says: "this Register is the finest of all our Registers, the most interesting and the most valuable (an opinion which this writer can confirm). There must be three volumes, which I propose to publish separately as each is completed. This means, if I am spared so long, about nine years of continuous and diligent labour," and he deserves to be amply supported for his courage and perseverance.

THE ANTIQUARY.—A Magazine devoted to the study of the Past, Vol. XXIV., July to December, 1891. London; Elliot Stock.

This volume fully sustains the high estimation in which it has been always held. There are many Notices of much interest and value. Under the heading of *Bygone Lincolnshire*, gathered from a work by Mr. John Nicholson, edited by Mr. William Andrews, F.R.H.S., and so entitled, is a description with illustrations of an ancient one-tree boat found at Brigg, on the bank of the river Axholme, when making excavations for a new gasometer. It is said to be the largest vessel known made of a single tree, being 48 ft. 8 ins. long, and in width 5 ft., tapering to 4 ft. Other examples are noted of one-tree boats of a lesser size. Illustrations are also given of a remarkable sculptured stone of a celtic type, supposed to be the shaft of a pre-Norman Christian cross It is 6 ft. 11 ins. in length by 16 ins. high and 8 inches thick. Of course, in its original position it stood erect. It had been built up in the western wall of the door jamb, and one of its faces has been concealed by the masonry. There is said to be part of a runic inscription, but it is so worn and fragmentary as to be unintelligible.

Mr. A. E. Hudd, F.S.A., communicates some interesting Notes on recent discoveries in Egypt in continuation of Notes given in previous volumes. Extracts are given of Burials in the Friaries of the Black Friars. Among these are several entries of special local interest relating to Bristol and Gloucestershire, *e.g.* Robert Poyntz, Esq., buried 26 Nov., 1470. In his will he provides that his body shall be buried in the convent church in a convenient place, if he deceases in London, elsewhere, if it pleases the Lord Jesus. The Prior and the Convent shall come with their cross, as the usage is, and convey his body to their church, and for this, and the placebo, dirge and mass shall have 20^{d}, every priest 8^{d}, and every other Friar and novice 4^{d}. Probate 7th February, 1470-1. He was the son of Thomas Poyntz, of Frampton Cotterell, co. Glouc. (ob. 1458), by Jane, relict of ..... Harewell.

He founded a chantry in Frampton Church. We find also under the date 1502, the burial of "Lady Berkeley, wife of Sir William Berkeley, of Stoke Gifford, co. Glouc., and mother of Lady Katherine Berkeley, and several others in the convents of Gloucester and Bristol. Mr. R. C. Hope, F.S.A., continues from former volumes his interesting notes on Holy Wells, their legends and superstitions. Mr. Page, F.S.A., continues from former volumes his lists of Church Goods, made *temp.* Edward VI. They relate to divers counties, but as they contain simply references to parishes, they do not appear, in their present state, to be of much practicable use.

A very interesting report is given of the Congress of the Associated Archæological Societies, held at Burlington House, under the Presidency of Dr. John Evans, F.R.S., &c., President of the Society of Antiquaries. There was present a considerable gathering of delegates from the various Societies in the Union, and other experienced antiquaries. Many valuable addresses were delivered. We may mention especially those of General Pitt-Rivers, the well-known Inspector of Ancient Monuments. The chairman, Dr. Evans, temporarily vacated the chair and gave an address *On the Forgery of Antiquities*, which was at once of great interest, humorous and comprehensive. Many other well-qualified gentlemen also spoke, among whom we may mention the following experts:—the Rev. Dr. Cox, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, Chancellor Furguson, Mr. Ralph Nevil, F.S.A., and others. This association of eminent Archæological Societies will, we doubt not, greatly promote the development, and tend to the preservation, of the antiquities of the country.

Some very able and interesting notes are contributed by Dr. J. C. Cox on the very successful visit of the "Royal Archæological Institute" last year to Edinburgh. The descriptions are admirable.

The are many other contributions of great interest which we should like to notice more fully did time and space permit, but we would direct the readers' attention to the *International Folk-lore Conference; An Old English Canonist;* Mr. Haverfield's *Roman Britain;* the Rev. E. Cole's *Notes on Archæology in Provincial Museums*, &c., &c.

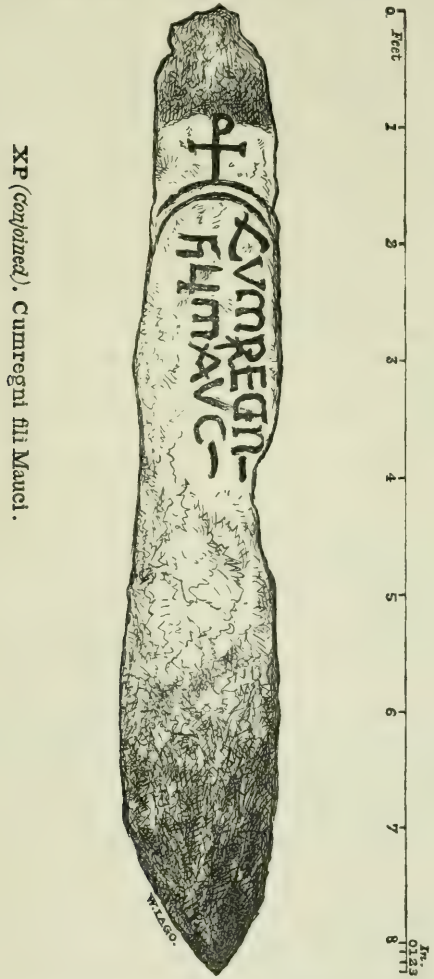
THE ANTIQUARY. Vol. XXV., January to June, 1892.

SINCE our notice of Volume XXIV. has been in type we have been favoured by the publisher with its successor, now before us, and we hasten to acknowledge it together with its predecessor. It is an excellent volume, and contains Papers and notes of great interest. The first paragraph which attracted our attention was the reference to the inscribed stone found by Mr. S. J. Wills, (recently-deceased) at Southill, in Cornwall. Mr. Wills having been unable to get the stone uncovered, it has since been seen by the Rev. W. Iago, of Bodmin, a skilled expert in pre-historic epigraphy, who has succeeded in reading the inscription. It is printed in the *Antiquary* as:

P CVM REGNI
T FILI. MAUCI

Several examples of the Christian Symbol CHI-RHO monogram have been found in Cornwall. There are others at St. Just, Phillack, and St. Helen's, Cape Cornwall.

But the inscription, as printed in the Antiquary, being, to us, unintelligible, we wrote to the Rev. W. Iago and asked him to be so good as to interpret it, and he has, with his usual courtesy, kindly sent us a drawing of the stone in *fac-simile*, which we have had engraved as annexed:



XP (*conjoined*). Cumregni fili Mauci.

The legend should have been printed as XP { CUMREGNI / FILIMAUCI conjoined for Christos. The final i's are placed horizontally.

The CHI-RHO symbol is of very great antiquity, and has been often described. In a Paper in the (*Archæologia*, (Vol. XLVIII., p. 243), by Mr. Alfred Tyler, F.G.S., &c., *On Points in the History of Roman Britain*,

as illustrated by discoveries at Warwick Square, London, writing on the origin of the CHI-RHO (XP) Symbol observes: CHI-RHO has been confidently claimed as a Christian symbol, but, though it was certainly adopted by the Christians, it is of Pagan origin. This, he says, is at once proved by its occurrence upon a coin of Ptolemy III. B.C. 230. The same symbol is also seen upon a medal of the date A.D. 250 to commemorate a Pagan Prefect whose title was probably Archon.

In the time of Constantine, in the 4th century, in consequence of his alleged visions, the CHI-RHO was definitely adopted as a Christian emblem, appearing on his standard and on many of his coins. It is also frequently found on the coins of Decentius. It is also generally known as the labarum of Constantine, and being formed of the two Greek letter X (ch) and P (r) which commence the word "Christos," it is used constantly as Christ's monogram. It thus occurs on numberless Christian monuments in the Catacombs of Rome. On many early inscribed stones in our own country, and is still displayed in modern churches in carving, glass, on banners, &c.

A most interesting and instructive Paper is communicated by the Rev. R. F. Clarke, S.J., on the *Holy Coat of Treves*, with *illustrations*. He points out its history as far as it is known, and discusses, from tradition and documentary evidence, its claim to authenticity.

Mr. Haverfield continues from the last volume his *Quarterley Notes on Roman Britain.*

The Rev. F.W. Weaver supplies from pre-Reformation Wills, Churchwardens' Accounts, and other sources, *Notes on the Lights of a Mediæval Church.* This is a very obscure subject, and one of much interest, to which, so far as we know, no special attention has been hitherto given. Its investigation will probably afford us much information upon the practices, hagiology, and ritual of the mediæval church, and Mr. Weaver will render good service by thoroughly working out the subject.

The Rev. T. H. Ditchfield continues from the last volume his *Notes on Archæology in Provincial Museums*, dealing in this volume with the museum in Reading.

A most interesting Paper on *Schliemann's Excavations*, by M. le Schomx, abundantly *illustrated*, giving a brief Memoir of the learned antiquary and his early struggles: and also a further Paper by Professor Halbherr on Schliemann's latest discoveries.

Mr. Page continues, from the last volume, his *Inventories of Church Goods*, temp. Edward VI., *London and Middlesex.*

Viscount Dillon (*Sec. to the Society of Antiquaries*) introduces a very valuable historical communication, being an Indenture shewing the agreement made between the King and one William Swinbourne, Esq., and the conditions on which the said William should serve the King in foreign parts for the space of six months, with ten men at arms, including himself, and thirty mounted archers. He was to be paid at the rate of six pence a day for each archer, and twelve pence a day for himself and each man-at-arms, with the usual allowance; but the most curious part was the arrangement made with respect to the "gaignes" of war, ransom of prisoners, &c. This document is illustrative of the usual practice, in such circumstances, at that period. The deed is dated at Westminster, 1st May, 9th Henry V. (1421).

Mr. Robert J. Preston communicates some charming *Notes on some Cornish Bench-ends*. He remarks that the churches in Cornwall are full of interest to the archæologist on account of the antique and beautiful carved work which is found in them ; but, he says, "she can boast most of all of her 'bench-ends,' mystic, wonderful evidences of that zeal for the house of God in bygone days, which had eaten up the souls of the workers." He describes only certain bench-ends in the ancient Collegiate Church of St. Burian and in the Churches of Zennor and St. Ives, three parishes near the Land's End. He would find the Churches of Stratton, Marham Church, Launcelles, Poughill and others in the extreme north of the county equally rich in carved bench-ends, pulpits, &c., but, alas ! the hands of the vandals have destroyed the greater portion of the beautiful carvings which formerly enriched the churches of the more central and thickly populated parishes in this county.

Mr. R. C. Hope continues from the last volume his *Notes on Holy Wells and their Superstitions*.

Canon Scott Robertson describes the remains of Old St. Martin's Church, Dover, together with certain interesting interments discovered on the removal of some old cottages which covered the site of the ancient church.

The Rev. J. Cave Browne, M.A., continues and concludes his description of *Boxley Abbey*, Kent, commenced in the last volume. Canon Isaac Taylor continues his remarks on *Pre-historic Rome*, and Dr. F. Halbherr on his *Researches in Crete*. There are other Papers, &c., of much interest, but the space at our disposal will not allow us to proceed farther at present.

COMPLETE PEERAGE OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, IRELAND, GREAT BRITAIN, AND THE UNITED KINGDOM, Extant, Extinct, or Dormant, alphabetically arranged, and edited by G.E.C. Vol. IV. G to K. London : George Bell & Sons ; Exeter : Pollard and Co.

We noticed the third volume of this work in Vol. XIV. of our Transactions. The work may well be entitled the "Complete Peerage," for it is the most comprehensive of all the works of this class in the English language. Its plan is an Alphabetical Synopsis of the *Entire Hereditary Peerage*, including Life Peerages ; and it gives briefly all the usual genealogical information ; and the numerous notes contain a vast amount of information not elsewhere published. No historical library should be without this work. It bears evidence of the great care and research bestowed upon its production, whilst the initials of the compiler are a sufficient guarantee of his ability to perform with accuracy the work he has undertaken.

COUNTY FOLK-LORE. Printed Extracts No. 1. Gloucestershire. Edited, with suggestions for the collection of Folk-lore of the County, by Edwin Sidney Hartland, F.S.A. London : D. Nutt, Strand. Gloucester : Davies and Son.

The Folk-lore Society established in 1878 was not formed too soon, rather the contrary, for many old Legends, Folk-tales, Traditions, Witchcraft, Local Customs and Superstitions had already perished. Mr. Lawrence Gomme, the President of the Society, writes : "Foreign countries have

followed the example of Great Britain, and are steadily collecting and classifying their Folk-lore. It is most gratifying to this Society to observe that one great result of its work has been to draw attention to the subject in all parts of the world; and it is particularly noticeable that the word 'Folk-lore' has been adopted as the name of the subject in foreign countries." He adds: "Since the establishment of the Society a great impetus has been given to the study and scientific treatment of those crude philosophies which Folk-lore embodies, hence the place now accorded to it as a science, to be approached in the historic spirit and treated on scientific methods. The meaning for a long time given to the term Folk-lore has thus been greatly enlarged, and the definition which the Society has adopted will illustrate the importance of the new departure. The science of Folk-lore is the comparison and identification of the survivals of archaic beliefs, customs and traditions in modern ages."

Probably there is no county more favourable to the study of Folk-lore than Gloucestershire. It is, pre-eminently, a border county, and is inhabited by mixed races of people, especially the Cymri and Saxons of various tribes. The miners and woodmen of the Forest of Dean and the inhabitants of the Cotteswold hills differ much, and both differ from the dwellers in the vale. The Saxons in the Forest are mostly of the West Saxon blood, and their habits and speech very closely agree with those of the natives of West Somerset and North Devon extending into Cornwall. There is much to observe and much to study in the Folk-lore of these peoples, and we glad that "there is a chield amang us taking notes."

The present pamphlet, by Mr. E. S. Hartland, is based chiefly on extracts from "Rudder" and the "Gloucestershire Notes & Queries." Perhaps he might glean something to suit his purpose from the Berkeley MSS. (Maclean's edition) Vol. III., pp. 16-34. *Manorial Customs, Proverbs peculiar to the Hundred, Dedication*, &c., but still better something fresh gathered in the several localities.

Even since the above was written, at "THE CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS," held in London on 6th Sept. 1892, after a discussion on the subject, a resolution was adopted affirming the desirability of forming a systematic collection of ancient and modern folk-lore."

ANNOUNCEMENT.

In the last volume of our Transactions is announced a proposal for the publication of Abstracts of 1000 ancient Charters and other documents selected from the Muniments in Berkeley Castle. We have now the pleasure of stating for the information of the subscribers, and the members of the Society generally, that this work will be issued to the subscribers early in October.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society

IN 1891-22,

At the Autumn Meeting held at Gloucester,

On Thursday, October 8th.

The General Autumnal Meeting of this Society was held at Gloucester, on Thursday, October 8th, and was attended by the following members and many others :—Sir Brook Kay, Bart., The Very Rev. The Dean of Gloucester, The Revs. W. T. Blathwayt, J. F. Green, W. H. Silvester Davies, and William Bazeley (*Hon. Sec.*); Messrs. H. W. Bruton, M. Medland, R. Groves Morris; G. S. Blakeway, W. J. Braikenridge, F. W. Waller, F. A. Hyett, E. A. D'Argent, and E. Hartland (*Hon. Treasurer*), &c.

The Members assembled at the Tolsey, which was kindly placed at the disposal of the Society by the Mayor and Corporation of Gloucester, and the Chair was taken by Sir Brook Kay, Bart. (*President of the Council*). The following addition to the rules of the Society had been proposed by Mr. F. A. Hyett at the General Meeting, held at Moreton-in-Marsh, and carried by the requisite number of votes, but it is necessary that it should be submitted to another General Meeting for confirmation. Between Rules V. and VI. to insert the following words :—

"V.*a*. Members who have held the post of Hon. Treasurer or Hon. General Secretary to the Society for a period of five years, shall be eligible, on nomination by the Council, for election as Honorary Members."

"Rule V.*b*. The Subscribing Members may at any General or Special Meeting, on recommendation by the Council, and by resolution of which notice has been given, confer on any Hon. Member or Members all the rights and privileges in the Society which they themselves possess, any provisions to the contrary in Rules IV., VII., or XIV. notwithstanding."

The resolution having been put to the Meeting was duly confirmed.

At the conclusion of the Meeting Luncheon was partaken of at Mr. Fisher's, and a good deal of interest was shewn in the carved oaken panelling of one of the rooms of his house. Amongst the decorations of the walls may be mentioned the heads of (?) the owner and his wife, the female head having the motto "Behold · Mi · Face"; The Agnus Dei; a shield of late type with the following bearing: *a bend betw. 3 stags, a chief barry wavy of four*, between the initials 'T.P.,' supposed to be those of Thomas Pope; a Pope's

tiara or triple crown with rays, and on either side a tassel; a sheaf of arrows between two crowned pomegranates, the badges of Queen Katherine of Arragon; the royal arms of Henry VIII., with a greyhound and dragon for supporters, the dragon being on the sinister side; a portcullis; a Tudor badge, with lions as supporters; the initials T. and P. being tied together with a twisted cord; the lion of England; the dragon of Wales, &c.

These carvings have been drawn by Mr. Howitt; and Mr. Fisher intends to issue a description of them richly illustrated. Mr. Howitt, who has also written on the subject in the *Gloucester Journal*, thinks the carving was executed about the year 1525. The use of the greyhound as a supporter, Mr. Bazeley remarked, would lead him to suggest a slightly earlier date, say 1515.

At two o'clock the Society was courteously received at the Cathedral by the Dean, who called the attention of the Members to some problems connected with the history of the sacred building. He was puzzled, he said, with regard to the date of the Crypt and some parts of the Choir, &c. Prof. Freeman had unhesitatingly declared that there was no part of the Cathedral earlier than the time of Abbot Serlo (1072-1104); and it would seem from Mr. Waller's edition of Haines' *Guide to the Cathedral* that the Cathedral Architect agreed with Mr. Freeman. On the other hand, the late Mr. Gambier Parry, as was shewn in his interesting article in *The Records of Gloucester Cathedral*,[1] had believed the Crypt to have been built by Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, in 1058. In one of his latest utterances Mr. Parry had begged him (the Dean) never to give up the earlier date. Mr. Bazeley, relying on the evidence of Masons' marks, and Mr. Harrison, who believed the columns in the Crypt to be of Saxon workmanship, held to the same opinion as Mr. Parry. The party then proceeded to the Choir; and Mr. Bazeley described the Great East Window, on which, he said, a very able article, by the late Mr. Winston, had appeared in the *Archæological Journal*.

The stone-work of the window, which was part of the great structural change effected in the eastern limb of the Cathedral by Abbot Wygmore and his successors in the 14th century, was contemporary with the glass. The date of the glass might be ascertained from the heraldic shields in the lowest tier of lights. Commencing with the uppermost tier of lights, and proceeding from left to right, Mr. Bazeley briefly described the figures and shields which have survived the wreck of time and ill-judged efforts of so-called restorers. The accompanying diagram, which has been reproduced from the *Archæological Journal*, with the kind permission of the Council of the Royal Archæological Institute, will enable the members to follow Mr. Bazeley's description: "The subject of the design is *The Enthronement of the Blessed Virgin*, who appears crowned and enthroned, in the 7th light of the fourth tier from the sill, *i.e.* in the light numbered 17 in Mr. Winston's plan. The topmost light, No. 1, has an inserted figure of a Pope and a canopy, both of 15th century glass. It was, perhaps, originally occupied by a representation of the First Person of the Trinity, or by a Dove, the symbol of the Third

1 "The Builders and Buildings of the Ancient Abbey of Saint Peter, now the Cathedral Church," by Thomas Gambier Parry, Esq., M.A., D.L. "Records of Gloucester Cathedral," Vol. I., p. 38, (1882-3).

2 "An Account of the Painted Glass in the East Window of Gloucester Cathedral," by Charles Winston.—*Archæological Journal*, Vol. XX., pp. 238, 319 (1863).

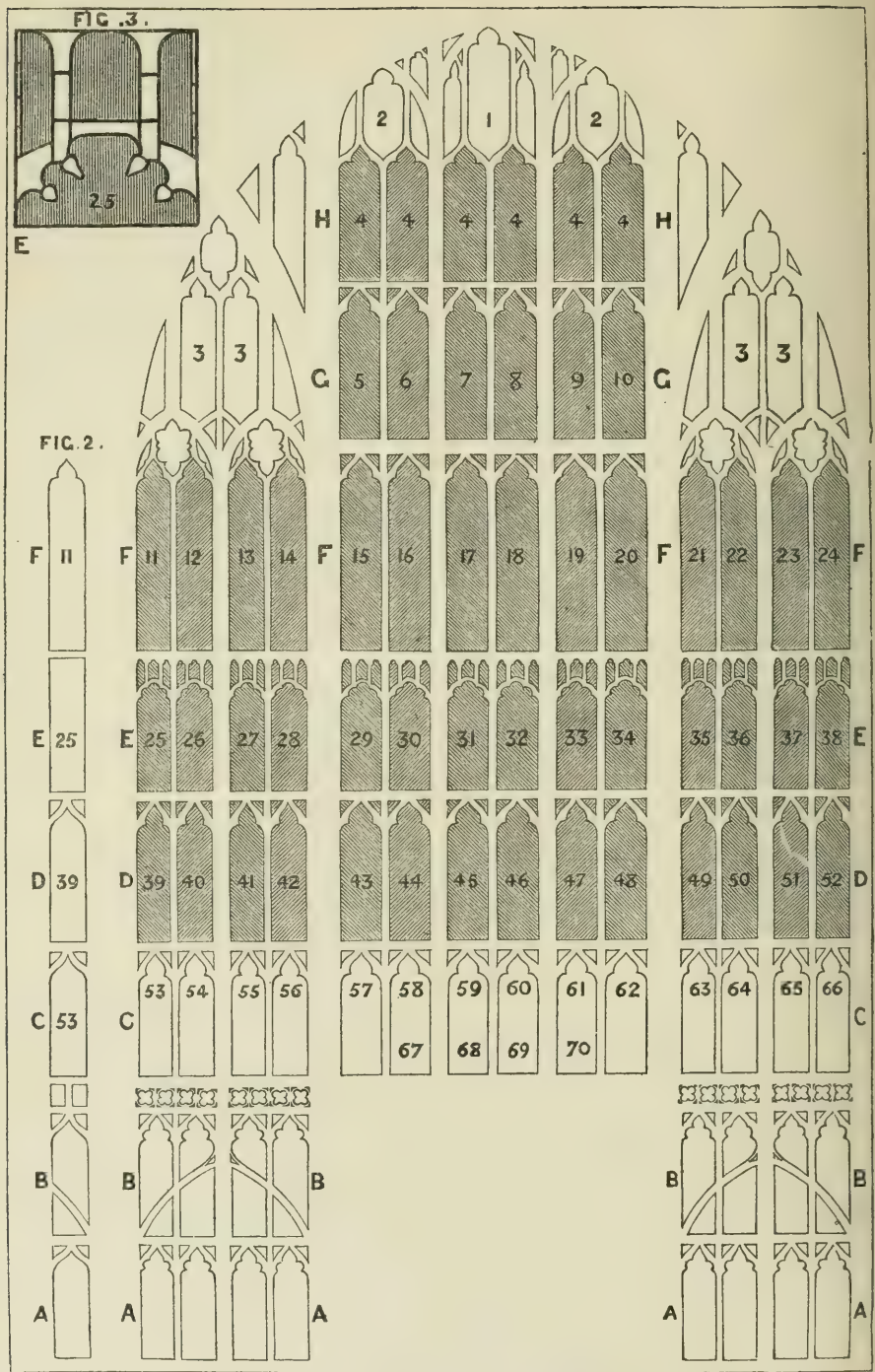


Diagram illustrative of the East Window of Gloucester Cathedral.

Person. Nos. 2,2 and 3,3,3,3 are filled with stars and roundels, and Nos. 4,4.4 with canopy work. The principal group: *Our Lord and His Mother surrounded by the Principal Apostles and Evangelists* is placed in FF. Above, in G,G, are adoring angels; below, in E,E, various saints; in D,D, ecclesiastics and kings; and in C,C, the heraldic shields of the donor, of the nobleman he wished to commemorate, and of those who fought with them in one of England's most glorious campaigns. In G,G five of the angels are original, and one, No. 6, is an insertion. This becomes evident when we compare the colours of the nimbus with the canopy. To commence at the extreme left of tier F,F—No. 11 (?) S. Mark with his book of the Gospel; No. 12, S. James the Less with a fuller's club; No. 13 (?) S. Mathew with the Gospel; No. 14, S. Andrew with the X cross; No. 15, S. John with eagle and palm-branch; No. 16, S. Peter with keys and model of a church with spire; No. 17, Our Lord's Mother enthroned; No. 18, The Saviour, having a green nimbus with white cross, and His hand raised in the act of blessing, the upper part of the figure only original; No. 19, S. Paul with sword and book; No. 20, S. Thomas with the spear and girdle of S. Mary: he has no nimbus; Nos. 21-24, fragments; E,E, No. 25, S. Dorothy with crown of red roses; No. 26, S. George with skull cap, hawberk of mail and white cyclas: he holds a spear in his right hand and rests his left hand on his sword: he has no nimbus; No. 27, a female saint with a book; No. 28, (?) S. Edmund, King of East Anglia, crowned, holding an arrow; No. 29, S. Margaret piercing a dragon with her spear; No. 30, S. Lawrence with a gridiron; No. 31, S. Catherine with sword and book: below her is the spiked wheel on which Olybrius intended to torture her to death; No. 32, S. John the Baptist, wth naked legs and feet; No. 33, fragments; No. 34, S. Martin of Tours, or S. Maurice, with sword in right hand and holding his girdle with the left; No. 35, a figure leaning on a green club; there should be a female saint in this light; No. 36 (?) S. Edward the Confessor, with sceptre: Nos. 37, 38, evidently insertions; D.D. 39-52, various ecclesiastics and sovereigns, no doubt distinguished Benedictines and their patrons, none of them have nimbuses. C.C. Nos. 53-64, eighteen heraldic shields, eight in the wings, which Mr. Winston considers all *in situ*, and ten in the central lights, several of which are insertions from earlier and later windows in the cathedral. No. 53, Richard, Earl of Arundel; No. 54, Thomas, Lord Berkeley, died 1368; No. 55, Thomas, Earl of Warwick; No. 56, fragments; William, Earl of Northampton; Nos. 57-59, inserted; No. 60, Edward, the Black Prince, died 1376; No. 61, Henry of Lancaster, not original; No. 62, inserted; No. 63, Lawrence, Earl of Pembroke; No. 64, Gilbert, or Richard, Lord Talbot; No. 65, Sir Maurice de Berkeley, slain 1347; No. 66, Thomas, Lord Bradeston, died 1360; No. 67, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, executed 1321, an insertion; No. 69, King of England, inserted; No. 70, Henry, Earl of Lancaster, died 1361. The evidence afforded by these shields implies that the window was erected by Thomas, Lord Bradeston, of Bradeston, near Berkeley, in memory of his comrade and friend, Sir Maurice Berkeley, the son and heir of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, slain at the siege of Calais, and in commemoration of the French campaign which ended in the glorious English victory of Cressy. The date of the window is probably 1347-1350."

The party then proceeded to the Lady Chapel which was described, architecturally by Mr. F. W. Waller who had prepared excellent maps of the Eastern limb of the cathedral.

Mr. Bazeley read some Notes on *The Early English Chapel*, built by Sir Ralph and Olympias de Willington, A.D. 1224. This paper will be printed *in extenso post*. Mr. Waller suggested that the Lady Chapel of the De Willingtons was not a separate or entirely new edifice in the 13th century, but merely an adaptation of one of the Norman chapels of the choir, most probably the central chapel of the apse, behind the high altar, which he thought might have remained intact until the erection of the present Lady Chapel at the end of the 15th century.

The Meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the Dean, Mr. Waller, and the General Secretary for their efforts on behalf of the members.

ARNALD DE BERKELEY, Baron of the Exchequer, 1264.

By SIR HENRY BARKLY, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.

As no attempt has ever been made to trace the career of this scion of an old Gloucestershire family, the following notices of him, extracted from contemporary records, will, it is hoped, be found of interest, especially as they throw light on the undercurrents of official life during the troubled reign of Henry III.

It seems safe to identify him at starting with the "Ernald of Coberley" who in 1221 received, under cover of a writ of "Mort d'Ancestor," half a hide of land in that vill from Robert de Berkeley, its lord,—to be held with another hide which he previously had there, at the nominal rent of a pound of pepper every Christmas, but in the event of his decease not to pass to his heirs on the same terms.[2] Presumably he was, like Robert himself, a grandson (or perhaps great-grandson) of William de Berkeley, the founder of Kingswood Abbey.

Nothing further is traceable of Ernald of Coberley, but about ten years later the name of Ernald de Berkeley[3] appears under circumstances which favour the presumption that he was the same

[1] Madox includes his name in the List of Barons on the strength of a deed which he quotes, but makes no remarks about him.—*History of the Exchequer, Vol. I., p.* 319.

Foss repeats this account, merely adding a reference as to the invasion of Arnald's lands in Herefordshire in 1267.—*Judges of England, Vol. II., p.* 237.

[2] "Finalis Concordia—inter Robertum de Berkele petentem et Ernaldum de Cuberley tenentem—de dimid hid. terre in Cuberley."—*Pedes Finium, Glouc., No.* 46, Henry III.

[3] The use of Coberley as an alternative surname was not uncommon in the family. Even in the next century, when people's names were much more settled, we find Sir John de Coberle summoned as a Juror to replace Sir Thomas de Berkele de Coberle in 1336.—*Cart. Sc Fridemide, Oxon.* While in 1372 (47 Edw. III., No. 55) the last Sir Thomas de Berkeley of Coberley is called in his Probatio Ætatis Thomas de Coberley.

individual, who after studying at Oxford during this interval had for some time past been in Holy Orders.[1] On the 27th January, 1232, the Bishop of Lincoln is called on to induct Ernald de Berkeley in the church of Lillingstone, in the County of Oxford, on the King's presentation ;[2] and on the 17th April following the Archbishop of York is applied to on similar grounds to admit him to the church of Thorpe in the last named county.[3] Previous to the 11th October in the same year he had likewise been presented to the church of St. Peter in the East, in the City of Oxford, which still stands to attest its architectural importance, which is such as to warrant the supposition that it would only have been conferred on a preacher of some reputation at the University. This nomination, however, for some mysterious reason, was cancelled, an entry of the date above cited on the Close Roll directing, that H. Bishop of Lincoln should be "requested to institute Pontius de Ponte thereto, as the King had been deceived in his presentation thereof to Arnald de Berkeley."[4] Whatever the deception, Arnald can scarcely have been a party to it, for he retained Henry's favour, a writ being addressed by the King from Oxford on 28th July, 1233, to the Archdeacon of Canterbury setting forth that he had presented Arnald de Berkeley to the church of St. Peter's, Dover,[5] whilst in 1234 he requested the

[1] The stipulated reversion of the grant in Coberley to the donor in the event of Ernald's death, looks as if he were destined for the priesthood, and assuming the fine to have been passed when he came of age, he would have been old enough for ordination two or three years after its date.

[2] Rot. Lit. Patentium, 15th Henry III., probably St. Mary's, Lillingston Lovell, which has always been in the gift of the Crown. As Henry's reign began on 28th October, 1216, all dates after 31st December in his 15th year fell in 1232.

[3] Rot. Lit. Patentium, 15th Henry III. We learn from the Hundred Rolls that this was Thorp juxta York.

[4] Rot. Lit. Clausarum, 15th Hen. III.—Pontius was in high favour with the young King. We find from the Close Rolls of this year—orders in his favour for casks of wine from the King's cellar at Oxford, a couple of does on two occasions from Whichwood Forest, and, lastly, on 31st August, the Mayor is directed to provide him with another house in that city, as the one he lives in is required by its owner "who proposes to study." Pontius was probably son, or brother, of Reginald de Ponte of Cognac, an engineer on whom two years before Henry had settled a pension of 200 marks on his taking the oath of allegiance.

[5] Rot. Lit. Pat., 16th Hen. III.

Archbishop himself to institute him to the church of Alderman chirche.[1] In 1242 the Archdeacon of Canterbury is notified of his presentation to the church of Halton,[2] Bucks; making in all five[3] crown livings conferred on him,—in accordance with the vicious practice of the day—for his support in the King's service, the entire civil administration of the kingdom being then confided to ecclesiastics as the only educated class of the community. It must have been manifestly impracticable for Arnald to serve churches scattered from one end of England to the other, and there is no reason to suspect that he was anywhere Resident Incumbent, except, perhaps, in the case of Datchworth, Herts, to the rectory of which he was presented in 1249 by John de Burgh, son of the famous Minister Hubert.[4] His duties about the Court were purely secular, connected with the Royal Revenue, out of which, in addition to his ecclesiastical income, considerable pickings fell to his share. Thus, in 1232, having purchased the Wardship of Robert de Chandos of Herefordshire for 20 marks,[5] he was allowed when he paid 5 of them in the next year,[6] to deduct an equal amount, and on further payment two years later[7] of 5 more, is declared "quit," in virtue of a royal brief, so that half the debt was remitted. Again in 1242 he is credited[8] with having collected 60 marks from the Jews in Herefordshire, of which he is allowed by the King to retain 12,—this sum (£8) being entered on the Pipe Roll of the year[9] "as accounted for"

[1] Rot. Lit. Pat., 18th Henry III. I do not know where this church is situated.

[2] Rot. Litt. Pat., 26th Hen. III.

[3] Probably he resigned the earliest to a kinsman, for on 11th July, 1233, the Bishop of Lincoln is called to induct *John de Berkeley* into the church of Lillingston, on the King's presentation. (Rot. Lit. Pat., 17th Henry III.) There are, however, two parishes of the name in the county. Whether he received other preferment either from the crown, or, as in the case of Datchworth, from lay patrons, is uncertain. He was very likely the *Ernaldus Capellanus* who appears in the Herefordshire Pipe Roll of 1258 as holding a cure in Arblate.

[4] See Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire, Vol. II., p. 317.

[5] *Vide* Rot. Litt. Claus. 16th Henry III.

[6] *Vide* Mag Rot. Pipæ Hereford, 17th Henry III.

[7] *Vide* Ibid., 19th Henry III.

[8] *Vide* Rot. Litt. Claus., 26th Henry III.

[9] *Vide* Mag Rot. Pip., Hereford, 26th Henry III.

by him. He soon began likewise to acquire land. In 1234 he received a Royal grant of some which had escheated from one William Balistarius in Berkeley. This could hardly have been made except with the knowledge of the Chief-Lord of the Fief, with whom indeed Arnald's relations about this period were very cordial, as shown by the occurrence of his name among the witnesses to several of the charters [1] executed by Thomas de Berkeley the then Baron. Only one of these is dated—April, 1236—but others were probably earlier, and may have been drawn up by him, as he is styled "Ernulphus Clericus," except in a single instance where he is called "Arnulphus[2] de Berkelee, Clericus."

As his means increased he took steps on his own account for the acquisition of property. In 1249 he obtained, through a fine from Richard de Cowley and Matilda his wife the right to hold a Burgage and its appurtenances in Berkeley for 2 marks of silver, paying annually to the chief lord of that fief an "obolus," (halfpenny) and performing all the services pertaining thereto;[3] and in 1255 he got a transfer from Peter de Wike of a lease for seven years of lands and a fishery.[4]

It was natural enough that he should thus seek to become of importance in his own neighbourhood, but it is less easy to understand why he, a priest, without, as would appear, near male relatives,[5] was so eager to acquire lands and houses in other counties. Already, in 1248, he had purchased half a knight's fee in Rochull,[6] Shropshire, in which county he likewise held, before

[1] *Vide* Select Charters, preserved at Berkeley Castle, Nos. 237, 277, 279 and 339.

[2] The same name as Arnald—*vide* Mr. Freeman's essay on the Counts of Ardres, or Mr. J. H. Round's Notes as to Arnulf de Mandeville, in his recent work, "The Anarchy." The original Teutonic *Earnwulf* had become Arnulf in Flanders, Arnoul in France, and Arnold in England, although in the last of these countries it was, in the 13th century, spelt in every conceivable fashion. Arnald de Berkeley usually appears in the Records as *Ernaldus*, but in the Hundred Rolls, *temp.* Edward I., is referred to as *Harnal* de Berkeley, whilst in an Irish Roll he is spoken of as *Ernisius*, probably through an erroneous extension of the abbreviation *Ern*^{s}.

[3] Pedes Finium, Glouc., No. 13, Hillary Term, 33rd Henry III.

[4] Select Charters at Berkeley Castle, No. 427.

[5] At his death his sister inherited.

[6] Eyton's Salop.

1255, a quarter of a fee in Watermore[1] of John de Esturmi, and in 1256 Diddsbury, of Walter de Clifford, of Corfham,[2] while three years later he had an "assize of nouvel disseisin" against William de Cambrai as to Hopton Cangford."[3] In Herefordshire he obtained the King's license in 1254 to purchase 30 acres of land in Bradfield,[4] becoming as well tenant of other crown lands in the same county, and holding as we know at a somewhat later date[5] in the parishes of Much Marcle and Brockhampton of their respective lords. With both these counties his cousins of Coberley had some connection, but he had not the same inducement in the case of either Buckinghamshire, where he seems from the Hundred Rolls to have had an interest both in Halton, where he was rector, and in Woburn;[6] or in Northamptonshire, where he must have possessed a farm, since in 1258 the justiciers were enjoined to enquire who it was that broke into Arnald de Berkeley's grange at Fancote by night,[7] the outrage being deemed of so much consequence that it is again alluded to on the Close Roll of the succeeding year.[8] Possibly the affair had some political significance, for the contest between the King and his Barons had grown serious, on the violation by the former in that very year of the Provisions of Oxford, and Arnald now filled a recognised position in the Royal household, having been promoted in 1251 to the office of Clerk to the King (Clericus Regis). A stipend of 20 marks a year was attached to this post, with certain perquisites, which in his case included—3 oaks every Christmas for firewood, and the present of a robe at that season.[9] The precise nature of

[1] Rot. Hundredorum, Vol. II., p. 74. [2] Eyton's Shropshire. [3] Ibid.

[4] Rot. Litt. Claus., 38th Henry III. It would seem that he bought the land from the crown on credit.

[5] Rot. Pip. Herefordshire, 3rd Edw. I.

[6] There is a Woe-burn in Bucks as well as in Beds. Whether Arnald's lands were those elsewhere spoken of as of *Weston* I do not know—See *post* p. 176.

[7] Rot. Lit. Pat., 42nd Hen. III. [8] Rot. Lit. Claus., 43rd Hen. III.

[9] Rot. Litt. Claus., 35th Hen. III.—The present of oak trees for firewood from the Royal forests was customary throughout the kingdom. The cost of such fuel must have been greatly enhanced by the expenses of carriage, save where the grantee resided in the vicinity. In Arnald's case it was given him from Havering (at Bower), in Essex, not much above ten miles from his rectory at Datchworth, in Hertfordshire, where his Christmas, it may surmised, was usually kept.

the duties does not appear, but, presumably, he looked after the King's private accounts with the Exchequer, and saw that the necessary funds for the Royal expenditure were supplied. That he enjoyed the entire confidence of the Court is proved by his being selected in 1259 to act as financial agent to the heir apparent, the Patent Roll of that year granting protection in his favour "so long as he shall be in the service of Edward, the King's son, in Ireland."[1] This looks at first sight as if the Prince himself were going there, but although such a step was contemplated, it was never taken, and Arnald's mission was really to procure money for him out of the Irish revenue. Though only just 20, Edward had been married several years, and notwithstanding his father had, with his usual lavish extravagance, settled on him, in addition to large estates in England, the revenues of Gascony, Wales and *Ireland*, these were so far from bringing in the estimated income of 15,000 marks a year, that we learn that in 1258 the Prince had been so hard pressed that he had pledged some of his possessions to his uncle, William de Valence, and would even have sold the Ile d'Oleron to Guy de Lusignan, if the sale had not been revoked by the King. Forced to have recourse elsewhere, it was determined to despatch an officer of experience to Dublin to overhaul the Treasury Accounts. Their unsatisfactory condition, as may be gathered from a lengthy and rambling Report,[2] made nearly a quarter of a century later by Commissioners appointed on the dismissal of the then Treasurer, was due in part at least to the practice which had grown up of borrowing money on account of the Crown on the security of orders redeemable in Ireland either in lands or cash as from time to time arranged. This is well exemplified by the following extract from the Report in question: "Money is still due to the Executors of William de Dene.[3] which was not paid because *Sir* [4]

[1] Rot. Litt. Pat., 43rd Henry III.

[2] Irish State Papers, Vol. III., pp. 1 to 15—"Report on State of the Exchequer in Dublin; that of the Chancery; and of the Country generally." Referred in the margin to about 13th Edw. I. (1285).

[3] William de Dene died before August, 1261.—See Vol. III. as above, No. 731.

[4] As the names of Bachelors in Arts in mediæval times were recorded in the University Registers as *Dominus*, which in English was translated "Sir." In Ecclesiastical and Academical status they were inferior to Masters.

Ernisius de Berkeley enquired regarding William's receipt. By gifts and receipts he received more in land and in the Excheqner than was paid to the Lord Edward." This indicates the benefit derived by the Prince from Arnald's intervention, and it is clear, likewise, that the King was pleased with the result of the mission, since he ordered the Barons of the Exchequer in 1262[1] "to pay his Clerk Ernald de Berkeley £40 out of a debt due by the men of Minsterworth,"[2] a high rate of remuneration even for a couple of years work, since the Barons themselves received but 40 marks for their annual salaries. On resuming his previous functions in England, Arnald did not forget to claim his perquisites, for we find from the Close Roll that in May, 1263, three oaks from Havering were allotted to him, presumably in respect to the previous Christmas, his name being omitted from the lists of 1260-62. This is the last occasion on which he is mentioned as the "King's Clerk," for he does not again appear until 1264, when he had become one of the Barons of the Exchequer. Possibly he held his former office till the civil war actually broke out, one of its effects being the non-compilation of the usual Rolls, as testified by gaps in some of them at the present dav. To avert the final rupture the mediation of the French King had been invoked late in 1263 by the contending parties,[3] but matters had gone too far to admit of other arbitrement than that of the sword, the Barons —who held the supremacy in the western counties— having blocked up Prince Edward in Bristol Castle, whilst the London mob was so hostile that the King was shut up in the Tower. A truce was indeed proclaimed early in 1264, and Edward, who had escaped by stratagem, met Louis at Amiens, but the negotiations having come to nothing, Henry took the field in March. Though successful on 3rd April at Northampton, his forces suffered total

[1] Fine Roll, 46th Henry III.

[2] On account of their ferm of the Royal manor which was in arrear.— *Glouc Pipe Roll*, 42nd Hen. III.

[3] It is noteworthy that among those who signed the letter addressed by the Barons to the King of France, appears "Galfridus de Cobberleigh, Clericus," who can scarcely be other than one bearing both these names, who was shortly afterwards (1270) party to a fine as to the advowson of the church of Coberley, Gloucestershire, and doubtless therefore a near kinsman of Arnald de Berkeley.

defeat on the 14th May at the battle of Lewes, and both he and his son were prisoners when the Parliament met on the 22nd June. What the position of non-combatant servants of the crown was whilst these events were passing, can only be conjectured from the recorded fact that "the Exchequer was closed because all the officials had taken flight." Their names even are unknown, those of 1261 being the last traceable from the Rolls, nor, for the same reason, can we tell the precise date at which new officials were nominated. We may be pretty sure, however, that the Earls of Leicester and of Gloucester, the leaders of the Insurrection, lost little time after their victory in providing for the collection of the revenue to meet the expenses of the Government, since "the King's Rents and Ferms due at Easter had not been paid." By the end of June, certainly, Nicholas of Ely was appointed Treasurer; John de Chishull, Chancellor; and Edward of Westminster and Arnald de Berkeley, Barons, of the Exchequer. As none of them were violent partisans, and there could be no question about their competency, all four having previously been in the service of the Crown,[1] the selection probably met with the King's assent, and this is evidenced by the fact that a deed executed by them on 31st October, 1264, respecting the office of Weigher (which forms the sole record of their collective action) was entered on the Great Roll of the Pipe made up for the year 1265 long after their supersession.

The inclusion of Arnald de Berkeley among the nominees of the rebel leaders was somewhat strange, since, after his long and

[1] Nicholas of Ely had been nominated for Chancellor by the Baronial party in October, 1260, when they were in power under the Provisions of Oxford, and although dismissed by the King a few months afterwards, was made Treasurer in 1262, and re-appointed Chancellor in 1263, so that he cannot long have been away from the Exchequer. John de Chishull, Archdeacon (but subsequently Bishop) of London, had been one of the King's clerks, and was sent to Paris in 1263 to aid in the negotiation for a compromise. Though called on to surrender the King's seal on 25th February, 1265, he was so little obnoxious that it was entrusted to him again after the King's triumph at Evesham, but he was never definitely confirmed as Chancellor.

Edward of Westminster was thoroughly conversant with the routine of the Exchequer, having been Chancellor from 1248 to 1251 when he was superseded. While Arnald de Berkeley, besides having been the King's clerk for more than 20 years, must have acquired considerable experience of Exchequer duties during his Irish mission.

intimate connection with the Court, he would hardly have been chosen by them unless they felt assured of his hearty co-operation in their designs. It may, perhaps, be partly explained by the influence brought to bear upon him by the Berkeleys of Coberley, who had for over a century held a Knight's fee of the Honour of Gloucester, and it is worthy of remark that as soon as the young Earl had quarrelled with De Montfort, and withdrawn to the west of England, Arnald was removed from office, after a very brief tenure. On 1st November, 1264, Roger de la Leye, one of the Remembrancers of the Exchequer, was ordered to be admitted by the others to the rank of a Baron with a view to his residing there,[1] which it is clear none of them did; and by the end of the same month a close-writ was issued, purporting to be tested as usual by the King, but countersigned by Hugh le Bigod and another of De Montfort's adherents, intimating "that as a Treasurer and a Chancellor had not yet been appointed," this same Roger de la Leye was to execute these offices until further orders. Either a clean sweep of the previous officers had been made, or their appointments were simply ignored, for not long afterwards Henry de St. Radegunde was made treasurer with four colleagues,[2] none of the number, save Roger de la Leye, having before been at the Exchequer.

It would have been well for Arnald de Berkeley had he availed himself of this supersession to mark openly his severance from the extreme faction which retained power. It might have been a service of danger, however, to travel from London to the western counties for such a purpose, and he probably thought it enough to retire to his Hertfordshire rectory. Unluckily for him, his patron and neighbour, De Burgh, adhered to De Montfort until his overthrow at Evesham on 5th Aug. 1265, thereby forfeiting all his possessions, to be redeemed only on the hard terms of the Dictum of Kenilworth at the end of the war. It is not surprising under such circumstances that Arnald de Berkeley should have been popularly suspected of remaining with the King's enemies to the last, and that he was in consequence subjected to serious

[1] Madox History of the Exchequer, Vol. II., p. 55.

[2] Ibid.

inconvenience and damage, his lands being everywhere pillaged by the bands of armed men who traversed the country during the autumn of 1265. The King, indeed, seems to have taken a lenient view of his conduct, for although he was not again appointed to the Exchequer, nor even reinstated as Clerk, he suffered neither fine nor forfeiture, and was not only allowed to appeal to the Law Courts for redress, but even received special protection. In January, 1266, he instituted proceedings against Walter de Pedwardin for injury to his Manor of Rochull, Shropshire,[1] and in September following we find him not only continuing this suit by his attorney,[2] but bringing separate actions against other trespassers, viz.: William de Berkeley,[3] and John de Esturmi,[4] for forcible entry of his lands at Halton and Weston in the county of Bucks, and seizing and detaining his goods and chattels thereon. None of the defendants put in an appearance, and they were consequently pronounced to be in default and liable to arrest, unless bail were given for their attendance next term.

It was evidently easy to protract matters, for as late as Hilary, 1268, Arnald was still suing Walter de Pedwardyn as to Rochull,[5] though he seems to have eventually succeeded, and died seized of the manor. In the adjoining county of Hereford, his lands at Merkele (Much Marcle), Bradfield and Brockhampton

[1] Eyton's History of Salop, Vol. IV. Walter de Pedwardyn was a red-hot Royalist.

[2] "Idem Arnaldus de Berkele per Attorn sū op' se 4to die versus Walterum de Pedarthā de placita quia ipse bona sua apud Rochehulla cepit et abduxit, &c., &c."—Coram Dno Rege apud Westminst in Octav Scti Mich. Anno 50, incipiente 51.—(Now called "Curia Regis Rolls.)

[3] This William de Berkeley, a younger brother of the Baron's, was one of the most notorious of these marauders. It was he who, at the head of a body of Welshmen, landed at Minehead "to rob Somersetshire," (as Robert of Gloucester puts it), but was repulsed with loss by the keeper of Dunster Castle. He eventually carried things too far, and was compelled in 56 Henry III. to become an Hospitaller and abjure the realm, giving sixteen sureties, including his brother Richard, never to return.—See *Smyth's Lives of the Berkeleys*, Vol. I., p. 120.

[4] John d'Esturmi was Arnald's overlord for years at Watermore in Shropshire, but must have become his bitter enemy.

[5] Eyton's Salop, Vol. IV.

were in like manner attacked, for in 1267 the King gave special instructions to the sheriff to enquire whether Henry de Caldwell had invaded these manors and taken Arnald de Berkeley's goods.[1]

Apparently he was successful here, too, but his losses and legal expenses must have been heavy, and it was doubtless about this time that he accepted the position of "Master of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, at Longbridge without Berkeley," which certainly looks like coming down in the world.

This institution had been founded by the first Maurice de Berkeley in 1189, for the residence of a certain number of brethren and sisters; but it seems to have been regarded from the outset with jealousy by the abbots of St. Augustine, Bristol, who were patrons of the vicarage of Berkeley, and to have owed its continued existence to the Bishops of Worcester, within whose diocese it lay. A controversy had latterly sprung up between them and the Barons as to the right of presentation to the masterships, which it was eventually arranged should be alternate; and it is not improbable, from the events which subsequently happened, that Arnald de Berkeley owed his appointment to his former colleague at the Exchequer, Nicholas of Ely, who became bishop early in 1266, and not to the then baron. It is certain, at all events, that the vacancy caused by Arnald's death was filled up by the baron.[2]

He can scarcely have settled down in his ecclesiastical retreat before he was again despatched to Ireland by Prince Edward,[3]

[1] Abbreviatio Placit, 51 Henry III. *See* also Duncumbe's Herefordshire, Vol. III. The Caldwell's were neighbours of Arnald's at Much Marcle.

[2] According to Smyth (Hundred of Berkeley, p. 260) the controversy arose in *1255*, the prior or master of the Hospital being called on to do fealty to the abbot of St. Augustine's. It is not stated how the question was at that time settled, but he refers (Lives of the Berkeleys, Vol. I., p. 76), to the "Registrum Wigornense" as showing that the mastership being void in 54th Henry III. ("the year of Arnald de Berkeley's death") the Lord Maurice then presented; the bishop next time."

[3] It is distinctly stated in the pleadings in 1269, hereafter referred to, that Arnald was master of the Hospital when he crossed to Ireland in the Prince's service, and this clearly happened during the episcopate of Nicholas, which began in 1266. *See Note*, p. 17.

its titular Lord, to place its finances on a sounder footing, which the experience gained at the English Exchequer must have apparently admirably qualified him to accomplish, for the report previously alluded to (*ante p.* 172) sets forth that "when Sir Ernald de Berkeley was in the Dublin Exchequer,[1] allowances were made after a due manner, and rolls were drawn up with due deliberation, but now by the removal of clerks by the Justiciary, to the King's great loss," all this is changed.

His absence from England on this occasion can scarcely have exceeded a twelvemonth, but although he had adopted the precautions before leaving, of placing the Hospital in the custody of his friend the Bishop of Worcester, and of appointing Nicholas, vicar of Berkeley, his agent, (ballivus) to look after the property on the spot, he found on his return that it had been despoiled by fraud and violence. Arnald at once, as in former cases, had recourse to law, and it is from the Gloucester Assize Roll of 53rd Henry III., which is still extant, that the particulars are to be gathered. The Bishop, it appears, substituted as custos *pro tem* Robert de Kingston, who, with the connivance of the vicar, made over to Roger, who it is suggested in the pleadings was in reality one of his own villans, a messuage in Slimbridge which belonged to the Hospital. It is asserted in reply to Arnald's claim for restitution, that he resigned the Mastership in the vicar's favour, but the jury find that Nicholas was only his *ballivus*, and that Robert and Roger merely held of *him*, and they consider that Arnald should recover the aforesaid messuage as the right of the

[1] This may, of course, refer to his visit in 1259, though it is scarcely likely that when merely King's clerk he would have been invested with so much authority. It is, however, right to add that there is nothing in the Report to indicate that he was there more than once, and also that the paragraph above set out, occurs on p. 3, whereas that previously quoted (*ante p.* 172) as to William de Dene is from p. *13*. As the Commissioners of 1285 did not give a consecutive narrative, but divided the subject into half a dozen sections—the first, describing the Exchequer, the last quaintly headed: "How the Bishop of Waterford the Justiciary became rich," not much importance need be attached to this order of occurrence, especially as the Report must have been drafted by different hands—"*Ernald*" appearing in the one place, *Ernisius* in the other. It is quite possible indeed that *both* passages relate to his *second* visit in 1268, and that the circumstances of his previous visit were forgotten.

Hospital.[1] Though he succeeded in this suit, Arnald altogether failed, however, in a much more important one against Aleysia, Countess of Warwick,[2] William and Richard de Berkeley, brothers of the Baron, and a number of their retainers, who had taken possession by violence of 30 acres of woodland at Eggeton, in Hinton. The Countess, who had doubtless been instigated by Arnald's old enemy to reclaim possession of land given by her deceased husband[3] and son, did not put in an appearance, but William de Berkeley came and made a reply, the nature of which may be inferred from the verdict of the jurors to the effect—that William, Earl of Warwick, did formerly enfeoff the said master in the aforesaid wood, but that he could be disseised, and that Maurice de Berkeley, the chief lord of the fee, refused his assent to such amortization.[4] The diminution of service would have been so trifling that the Baron's refusal looks as if it were prompted by ill-feeling arising from the recent dispute as to the right of presentation to the Mastership. The Court, of course, had no

[1] *Vide* Assize Rolls, Gloucester, 53rd Henry III. $\frac{M}{2}$ folio 5, in dorso (now No. 275) "Ernaldus de Berkeley custos hospit Sctⁱ Trinit de Berkeley petit versus Robert de Kingston et Roger de Grevel unum Messuag cum ptᶜˢ in Slimbridge, quod clamat ut jus predicti hospitalis..' Et predictus Ernaldus per advocatum suum dicit . . . . . quod aliquo tempore fuit magister pdⁱ Hosp . . . et postmodo quum debuit *transfretare in Hyberniam in servicio Edwardi filii Regis*, ipse totius resignavit custodiam loci Episcopo Wigornensi, et motu Episcopi loco suo constituit pᵈᵐ Nicholaum ballivum suum ad custodiendum predᵘᵐ Hospitalem. "Jurati dicunt, super sacr. suū, quod Nicholaus nunquam fuit custodem perpetuum pᵈⁱ Hosp. Imo fuit Ball. pᵈⁱ Ernaldi dum idem Ernaldus fuit in partibus Hybernia et dicunt quod predictus Ernaldus nunquam resignavit custod. pᵈⁱ hosp. et quod Robertus et Rogerus habuerunt messuagium illud per pᵈᵐ Nicholaum qui non fuit nisi Ball. pᵈⁱ Ernaldi. Et ideo consideratus est quod predictus Ernaldus recuperet jus suum de predicto Messuaguo ut de jure Hospitalis ipsius est." —"*Robertus et Rogerius in Misericordia.*"

[2] Alicia, daughter and heiress of Waleran, Earl of Warwick, had married when very young, William Mauduit, of Hanslope, donor of the land in question. Their son William, Earl of Warwick, died in 52 Hen. III. childless.

[3] According to Smyth (Lives of the Berkeleys, Vol. I., p. 127) she had herself joined in the gift.

[4] "Jurati dicunt . . . quod quidem Willielmus Comes Warr. olim feoffavit predictum Magist de pᶜᵈᵒ bono, et quod Mauricius de Berkeley Capitalis Dominus feodi noluit illam Elemosinam fieri, etc."—*Assize Roll, Gloucester*, 53rd Hen. III., folio 34.

alternative but to dismiss the complaint. At the same assizes, Arnald de Berkeley was sued by Christian Musard for 9½ acres in Slimbridge, but this was apparently in his private capacity, and her right was not established.

How far the vexations he had latterly met with had told on the health of Arnald, who must by this time have been verging on his three score and ten, we know not, but his long and busy career was rapidly drawing to a close. His death must have taken place early in the following year (1270), for on 6th Feb. William de Wintreshulle, Steward of the Royal Household, was authorised "to take possession of the Houses which Arnald de Berkeley, lately deceased, had in London," whilst on the 26th the said steward was further "ordered to hold them until the debts which the said Arnald owed to the King at the Exchequer should be paid."[2] This was supplemented by a writ directing the the sheriff of Herefordshire to seize Arnald's goods and chattels Merkele, Bradfield, and Brockhampton in that county.

The total amount of his indebtedness is not stated, but it appears from the Herefordshire Pipe Roll of 3 Edw. I. that there was due at the time of his decease, £53 6s. 4d., on account of crown lands purchased as far back as 42nd Henry III. (1258), payment for which had been from time to time respited. There seems also to have been a claim against him in respect to Minsterworth, Gloucestershire. How matters were settled is by no means clear, but there are several references in the Hundred Rolls of 3rd Edw. I. to Arnald's connection with lands in Buckinghamshire and Berks,[3] and as the Act of Parliament under which the enquiries were made, whilst giving a general right of complaint for a quarter of a century back against all officers in the King's service, was mainly designed for the discovery of arrears due to the crown, it is more than probable that the omission from the Pipe Rolls of 5th Edw. I., and all other subsequent years, of the claims against Arnald de Berkeley, arose either from their recovery or their abandonment as hopeless.

[1] *Vide* Rot. Litt. Claus., 54th Henry III.

[2] Rot. Lit. Pat. 54 Henry III. m. 20.

[3] Rotuli Hundredorum (Record Commission, Vol. I., pages 21 and 22); Bucks, p. 4; Berks, p. 12.

The only county wherein, so far as we know, his sister and sole heiress, Agnes, widow of Richard de Kenebelle,[1] inherited, was Shropshire, where there is evidence that at some date prior to the year 1282, she quit-claimed to Roger de Mortimer "all the lands which her brother had held at Rochulle le Wall, Elcott, Nene, and Fenton."[2] His Hertfordshire rectory of Datchworth was filled up on the 12th August, 1271, on the presentation of Peter de Burgh, by the institution of Walter de Guise.[3] It is noteworthy that Arnald's successor should have come of a family so closely connected with the de Burghs that one of its members shortly afterwards received from Sir John de Burgh the manor of Elmore, Gloucestershire, which his descendants in the male line have ever since held.

It remains to say a few words in conclusion on Arnald de Berkeley's personal characteristics as displayed in the notices cited. That he possessed a certain amount of talent is clear from his rise, and that he was a very efficient financier is proved by his having been selected by the King to look after Prince Edward's interests in Ireland; by his appointment by the Baronial party to be one of their representatives at a serious crisis at the Exchequer; and by his being ultimately sent to Dublin to reorganize the Irish Exchequer. Had he been, however, a man of conspicuous ability in other ways, he would surely, with the opportunities thus presented, have risen higher either in the Church or State!

How far he was deserving of promotion in the former is another matter, but he must have been at all events outwardly moral and decorous, or he would not have been retained at Court by Henry, who, though a weak King, was pious according to his lights, and far above the usual standard of morality. It may be urged that no conscientious priest would have undertaken so many Cures of which he necessarily neglected the duties, but this

[1] The de Kenebelles held a knight's fee of the Honour of Gloucester.—*Liber Niger Scaccarii.* It may have been the present Kemble in Wilts, but there is a manor of Kenebelle in Bucks.

[2] Eyton's Shropshire, Vol. IV., p. 276.

[3] Registry of Bishopric of Lincoln—cited in Clutterbuck's Herts, Vol. II. p. 317.

would be judging him by ideas which have only recently sprung up as to pluralities, and there is no reason to infer that he was either better or worse than his contemporaries in this respect. One would fain hope, however, that the avidity be exhibited in amassing wealth, was not universal among churchmen in the 13th century. He seems to have been better suited on the whole for secular life, and admirably qualified to all appearance for the position he for a short period filled at the Exchequer, but his acceptance of it from the Rebel Barons after their victory at Lewes proved, as things turned out, a very grave mistake on his part, and his prospect of political advancement vanished for ever on their defeat at Evesham. Possibly he had no alternative but to yield to the pressure they brought to bear on him, but if on the other hand he voluntarily deserted the royal cause, he richly deserved all his misfortunes ;—not so much for disloyalty to the King, but for gross ingratitude to the benefactor to whom he owed everything.

At any rate, whatever Arnald de Berkeley's merits were in other respects, he has no claim, whilst this imputation stands unrefuted, to rank among the Worthies of Gloucestershire.

PEDES FINIUM.

Or Excerpts from the Feet of Fines for the County of Gloucester from the 7th John to the 57th Henry III.

By SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A., F.R.S.A., &c.

Among the many classes of valuable documents preserved in the Public Record Office there are none of greater importance for topographical and genealogical purposes than the Feet of Fines. These instruments are of great antiquity. They commence as early as the 7th Richard I. and, with few exceptions, and where these occur the gaps are supplied by the Notes of Fines, are continued in uninterrupted succession down to the Act of 3rd and 4th William IV., cap. 74, by which Act they were discontinued. On their introduction the Feet of Fines were intended to be used for the settlement of real controversies concerning land but they afterward became based upon fictitious suits, and so continued down to the recent period of their extinction.

The object of these instruments was to convey, in a simple manner, the title to manors, lands and tenements, either in fee simple, or for any other estate of shorter duration—to create, and annul, entails, and to free lands from the dower of wives. Much might be written upon Fines. It is, however, a very wide and somewhat intricate subject, and we must refer our readers, who may desire further information, to the law books.

What we have to consider is the use, now, of these ancient documents to the historian, topographer, and genealogist. To the first they shew what was anciently the procedure in the transfer of lands. To the second as shewing the transfer of almost all lands and tenements in the kingdom, and the dates of such transfers for several centuries, the names of the parties to the fines, and, if married, the names of their wives, the situation and quantity of the land, and in many cases the names of the several

persons, generally of kin, created in remainder, and sometimes, in early fines, the names of ancestors are mentioned.

The Feet of Fines from 7th Richard I. to 16th John have been printed by the Record Commissioners arranged under counties from A to C in alphabetical order, a work easily accessible. These volumes, however, do not extend to Gloucestershire, and the following excerpts, down to the end of the reign of Henry III., were made by the writer for his own private use, without any thought of their being printed. It is very desirable that the printing should be continued for the use of Gloucestershire students.

1st John, A.D. 1190-1199-1200. Final Agreement between Mabel and Matilda de Abenesse, by Robert Archard, their attorney, querists, and William, Abbot of Kingswood, by Joel one of his monks, deforciants, of one virgate called Roowude, and 4s. rent of land of La Dene, whereby for 100s. sterling the same was quitclaimed to the said abbot. No. 13.

3rd John, A.D. 1201-1201-2. Between William de Dunse q. and Alan de Elmoure and Roger his son, def., of 13½ acres of land with appurtenances in Elmour, whereby, etc., and in consideration one mark of rent the said premises were quit-claimed by the said Alan and Roger to the said William and his heirs. No. 30.

„ Betw. Walter Blund, q., and Ralph Blakensia, def., of one carucate of land with appces in Aure, etc., whereof, etc., the said Ralph recognised the said land, etc., as the right of the said Walter. No. 33.

5th Henry III. A.D. 1220-1. Between Lecuaria, who was wife of Roger de Berkeley, q , and Henry de Berkeley, tenant, of the third part of three carucates of land in Dursleg, and of the third part of five acres of land, and of the third part of five carucates of land in Dudington, and of the third part

of two carucates of land in Stanleg which she held of dower of her said husband, whereof, etc., she remised and quit-claimed the same to the said Henry and the said Henry gave her 20 marks of silver. No. 7

9th Henry III. 1207-8. Between Thomas de Berkeley, q., and Thomas, Abbot of Gloucester, def., of the advowson of the Church of Slimbrig, whereof, etc., and the said abbot recognised the said advowson as the right of the said Thomas and remised and quit-claimed the same for himself and his successors to the said Thomas and his heirs for ever; and the said Thomas for the welfare of his soul granted to the aforesaid Abbot and the monks of Gloucester serving God in the Priory of Stanleg, all his land at Lorlinges with appces, viz., all which the said Thomas or his ancestors there held in demesne and rents in villenage, in homage, and services of freemen, in woods and pastures, and in all other things to the said land pertaining, to have and to hold of the said Thomas and his heirs in pure and perpetual alms, freely and quietly and quit of all customs and exactions. No. 85

20th Henry III. 1235-6. Between Adam Malet, querist, and Nicholas Oxhaye and Petronilla, his wife, impedimentis, of one virgate of land with appces in Button whereof, etc., and the said Nicholas and Petronilla recognised the said land, etc., as the right of the said Adam, to have and to hold the same of the said Nicholas and Petronilla, and of the heirs of the said Petronilla for ever, and for this fine the said Adam gave the said Nicholas and Petronilla 100 shillings sterling. No. 148

[1] This lady was the wife of the last Roger de Berkeley, of Dursley, who died before May, 1221. Henry was the son and heir of the said Roger by Hawise, daughter of Ralph Paynel.

20th Henry III. 1235-6. Betw. Henry de Bathon, querist, and Isabella de Longo Campo, impedimentis, of the third part of the Manor of Westbury with appces, whereof, etc., and the said Isabella recognised the said part, etc., with the advowson of the church of the same manor with divers villans and all other things to the aforesaid third part pertaining as the right of the said Henry, and as those which he had of the gift of the said Isabella, to hold to the said Henry and his heirs, likewise of 18 acres of land which the said Isabella holds of Roger Cadel in the ville of Radlegh, and likewise with the third part of all the land which Roger de Layburn and Agnes his wife, stepmother (*noverta*) holds in dower in the aforesaid Manor of Westbury, and which after the death of the said Agnes will revert to the said Henry and his heirs for ever, to hold to the same Henry and his heirs of the said Isabella and her heirs for ever. No. 174

20th Henry III. A.D. 1235-6 Hugh, son of Hugh, petitioner, and Richard de Cromhall,[1] whom Nicholus Mingnoc called to warrant and who warranted one messuage with appces in Berkeley, whereof an assize of the death of an ancestor was summoned between them, to wit, that the said Richard recognised all the aforesaid messuage with appces as the rights of the said Hugh and remised and quit-claimed the same to the said Hugh and his heirs for ever, and for this fine the said Hugh gave the said Richard half a mark of silver. No. 193

21st Henry III. A.D. 1236-7. Betw. Robert, son of Robert de Button, q., and Nicholas de Oxham and Petronilla, his

[1] Richard de Cromhall was slain in Scotland, cir. 39th Henry III.—*Berkeley MSS.*, *p.* 162.

wife, def., of one virgate of land in Button, whereof, etc., to wit, that the said Nicholas and Petronilla recognised the whole of the said land with appces as the right of the said Robert, and as that which the same Robert had of the gift of the said Nicholas and Petronilla to hold to the said Robert and his heirs of the said Nicholas and Petronilla and the heirs of the said Petronilla for ever, rendering annually 4s., and for this fine the said Robert gave the said Nicholas and Petronilla one sparrow hawk. No. 216

23rd Henry III. 1238-9. Betw. Giles de Berkeley, pet., and Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, whom the Prior of Lantony called to warrant, and who warranted two parts of the manor of Quedgeley with appces, except two parts of the advowson of the church of the same manor, whereof, etc. that the said Giles remised and quit-claimed for himself and his heirs to the said Earl and his heirs all his right and claim which he had in the said two parts of the said manor for ever, and for this quit-claim, etc., the said Earl gave the said Giles 100 marks of silver. No. 225

23rd Henry III. 1238-9 Betw. Giles de Berkeley, pet., and Herbert, son of Peter, whom the Prior of Lantony called to warrant, and who warranted the third part of the manor of Quedgeley, except the third part of the advowson of the church, whereof, etc., to wit, that the said Giles for himself and his heirs quit-claimed to the said

[1] Robert, sen., was the son of Adam D'amnaville to whom Henry II. granted the manor of Bitton or Button, the name of which place he assumed. Petronilla, the grandaughter of Adam, and niece of the second Robert, married Nicholas de Oxehaye, who, jointly with his wife, sold land in Bitton to the said Robert, as shewn in the text, ob. s.p.—*See Ellacombe's History of Bitton.*

Herbert and his heirs his whole right and claim which he had in the third part of the said manor, and for this fine, etc., the said Herbert gave the said Giles 50 marks of silver.

25th Henry III. 1240-1. Between John de Berkeley, pet., and John, Abbot of Kingswood, def., of two virgates of land and three acres of wood with appces in Oselsworth, whereof, etc., to wit, that the said John remised and quit-claimed the said lands, etc., to the said Abbot and his successors. No. 240

25th Henry III. 1240-1. Betw. William, Abbot of St. Augustine's, q., and John de Berkeley, def., of the advowson of the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen of Lorning, whereof, etc., to wit, that the said John recognised the aforesaid advowson as the right of the said Abbot and Church of St. Augustine of Bristol, and as those which the same Abbot and church had of the gift of Roger de Berkeley, grandfather of the same John, whose heir he is, to have and to hold to the said Abbot and his successors and the said church of St. Augustine to hold of the said John and his heirs in free, pure, and perpetual alms for ever. No. 276

25th Henry III. 1240-1. Betw. John de Akt and Adam de Kellicoc, pet., and William de Everous (Evereux) whom Isabella de Car . . . . called to warrant and who warranted half a virgate of land with appces in Oxenhall, whereof, etc., an assize of the death of an ancestor was summoned between them, to wit, the said John remised and quit-claimed for himself and his heirs to the said William and his heirs all his right and claim which he has in the aforesaid land

for ever, and for this fine, etc., the same William gave the aforesaid John and Adam four marks of silver, and the same William and Isabella, at the request of the said John and Adam, remised and quit-claimed for themselves and their heirs to the said Henry de Bathon and his heirs all the claim which they had in a certain pasture in Neowent and Pauntleg, which is called Bottelawe, for ever.

No. 281

26th Henry III. 1241-2

Betw. Richard de Gaunsel, pet., and Robert Gurnay, whom Margaret de Somery called to warrant, and who warranted two parts of one carucate of land with appᶜᵉˢ in La Lee whereof, etc., the assize of the death of an ancestor was summoned between them, to wit, that the aforesaid Robert recognised all the aforesaid land as the right of the same Richard, and for this fine and recognition the same Richard granted to the said Robert all the land which was enclosed in the Park of Oure (? Aure) on the day on which this fine was made, to hold to the said Robert and his heirs of the said Richard and his heirs for ever, rendering thereof per annum half a penny for all services, and the same Robert gave the said Richard ten marks of silver.

No. 321

22nd Henry III. A.D. 1247-8

Betw. William de Dunye, pet., and Margaret, Countess of Kent,[1] def., of 13 acres of land in Elmoure, whereof, etc., to wit, the said William remised and quit-claimed for himself and his heirs to the said Countess and her

[1] This lady was the relict of Hubert de Burgh, the Grand Justitiary, created Earl of Kent 1226, and died 1243. She was the daughter of William, the Lion King of Scotland. John de Burgh, eldest son of Hubert, enfeoffed Anselm de Gyse in the manor of Elmore. (See *ante* p. 181).

heirs all the said land for ever, and for this fine, etc., the said Countess gave the said William three marks of silver. No. 337

31st Henry III. A.D. 1247-8

Betw. Maurice de Dunce, Walter de Bonecumbe and Robert le Bastard, pet., and Peter de Burgeys ten., of one virgate and a half of land with app^ces^ in Slimbrigge, whereof, etc., an assize of the death of an ancestor was summoned between them; to wit, the said Peter recognised the said land with app^ces^ as the right of the said Maurice, Walter and Robert, and for this fine, etc., granted to the aforesaid Peter and Lucy, his wife, the same land with app^ces^, to hold to the said Peter and Lucy of the aforesaid Maurice, Walter and Robert and their heirs, rendering thereof per annum for the whole life of the said Peter 2s. sterling, and if the said Lucy survived the said Peter she should render per annum, to the said Maurice, Walter, and Robert and their heirs for the said land for her life one mark of silver, and after the decease of the said Peter and Lucy the said land to revert to the said Maurice, Walter and Robert and their heirs quit of the heirs of the said Peter and Lucy for ever. No. 348

32nd Henry III. A.D. 1247-8

Betw. Arnulph de Berkeley,[1] q., and Richard de Couele [Cowley] and Matilda, his wife, def., of one burgage with app^ces^ in Berkeley, whereof, etc., to wit, that the aforesaid Richard and Matilda recognised the said burgage with app^ces^ as the right of the said Arnulph, to hold to the said Arnulph and his heirs of the said Richard and Matilda and the heirs of the said Matilda for ever, rendering per annum one obulus,

[1] For particulars of Arnulph de Berkeley, see Memoir by Sir Henry Barkly therunto following, *ante* p. 167 et seq.

and making quit thereof to the chief Lord of the fee for all services. No. 366

39th Henry III. A.D. 1254-5. Betw. Ralph,[1] son of William de Abbehale, q., and John de Monemue, def.,[2] of four acres of meadow in Abbehale, whereof, etc., and the said John recognised the said meadow as the right of the said Ralph, and quit-claimed the same to him for ever. No. 480

39th Henry III. A.D. 1254-5 Betw. Ralph de Abbehale, q., and Richard, son of Mazelyne and Margery, his wife, def., of two and half acres of meadow in Abbehale, whereof a plea of warranty of charter was summoned between them, to wit, that the aforesaid Richard and Margery recognised the aforesaid meadow with app^ces as being the right of the said Ralph, and as that which the same Ralph had of the gift of the said Richard and Margery, to have and to hold to the same Ralph and his heirs of the same Richard and Margery and the heirs of the same Margery for ever, rendering per annum one pair of white gloves (Albarum Gyrotecarum) and one

[1] Ralph, son of William de Abbenhall, married a lady named Matilda, d. and ob. 1301, leaving issue three sons. (See ante Vol. VI., p. 183).

[2] There were two John de Monemues (Monmouth) Barons of Monmouth. The elder was the great-great-grandson of William Fitz Baderon, who at the time of the Domesday Survey was possessed of 22 lordships in England. The elder was Constable of St. Briavel's Castle in 1216, and died in 1248. He was succeeded in the Barony by his son, the second John, who was party to this fine. It is stated in Bank's Baronage that being without issue male in 35th Henry III. (1252-3) in consideration of certain lands which Prince Edward had granted to him for his life, he gave to the said Prince and his heirs for ever his Castle and Honour of Monmouth. He is said by Banks to have died in the 41st Henry III. s.p.m. (1252). It appears from the Close Rolls, 9 Edw. I., m. 7, that he had been hanged for felony, and that he had, in the County of Gloucester, the Manors of Lassington and Bailey, and that he held the same of Agnes de Mussegros his mother, Matilda de Muscegros, and Johanna and Amabella sisters of the said Agnes; and the Sheriff was commanded to accept sufficient security for their fine and deliver seizin. We do not know the exact date of the death of John de Monmouth, nor do we know of what crime he was accused, but it doubtless occurred during the time of the troubles caused by Symon de Montfort.

halfpenny at Easter, and making thereof Royal service that to the same meadow pertains for all services, and the same Richard and Margery and the heirs of the same Margery warrant the same to the said Ralph and his heirs. No. 473

39th Henry III. A.D. 1254-5 — Betw. Henry de Gant,[1] Master of the Hospital of St. Mark of Bristol, pet., and Simon de Guine, def., of half a virgate of land with appcēs in La Lee, and between the same Henry, pet., and William de la Lee, of half a virgate of land in the same ville, and between the same Henry, pet., and John de la Wadelond and Mary, his wife, def., of three acres of land in the same ville, whereof, etc., to wit, that the same Master remised and quit-claimed for himself and the brethren of the said house to the aforesaid Simon, William de la Lee, John, William de Wadelond and Mary and their heirs respectively, all the right and claim in the said lands for ever. And for this fine the said parties gave the said Master two marks of silver. No. 489

39th Henry III. A.D. 1254-5 — Betw. Henry le Veel,[2] pet., and William de Merton, def., of one virgate of land in Yate, whereof, etc., to wit, the said Henry remised and quit-claimed the said land to the aforesaid William and his heirs. No. 489

45th Henry III. A.D. 1260-1 — Betw. William le Blund, q., and Francis de Boun and Sibell, his wife, def., of six shillings rent with appcēs in Aure, whereof, etc., to wit, that the aforesaid William remised and

[1] For Henry de Gaunt, see *ante* Vol. XV., and Mr. Barker's "St. Mark's Chapel."

[2] Henry le Vele, eldest son of Geoffry Vele, by Matilda, dau. and coheir of Harding, *alias* Berkley, of Huntingford, and left issue; was living 37th Henry III.

quit-claimed for himself and his heirs to the aforesaid Francis and Sibell all the right which he had in the said rent. No. 552

45th Henry III. A.D. 1260-1

Betw. William de Wodelond, pet., and John Hert, def., of one virgate of land with appces except 1½ acres in La Lee, whereof, etc., to wit, that the aforesaid John recognised the said land with appces as being the right of the said William, and for this recognition, etc., the said William granted to the aforesaid John the aforesaid land with appces to hold to the aforesaid John and his heirs of the said William and his heirs rendering thereof per annum eleven shillings. No. 563

45th Henry III. A.D. 1260-1

Betw. Henry de Schalkeley and Johanna, his wife, Philip de Leycestre and Isabella, his wife, and Hildeburgh, sister of the same Isabella, q., and Peter de Wellingford and Isilya, his wife, sister of the same Isabella, def., of one messuage and one carucate of land in Westbury, whereof, etc., to wit, that the said Peter and Isilia recognised the aforesaid messuage and land as being the right of the said Johanna, Isabella, and Hildeburgh, and for this recognition, etc., the aforesaid Henry and Johanna, Philip and Isabell and Hildeburgh, and the heirs of the said Johanna, Isabell and Hildeburgh for the whole life of Isilya, rendering thereof per annum one clove of gilliflower for all services which pertained to the said Johanna, Isabell, and Hildeburgh, and making to the chief lord of the fee all services due and accustomed, and if the said Isilya died in the lifetime of the said Peter a moiety of the said lands to remain to the said Peter to hold of the aforesaid Henry, Johanna,

Philip and Isabell and Hildeburgh and the heirs of the said Johanna, Isabell and Hildeburgh by the aforesaid services for the life of said Peter, and the other moiety to revert to the said Henry and Johanna, Philip, Isabell and Hildeburgh and the heirs of the said Johanna, Isabell and Hildeburgh quit of the heirs of the said Isilya for ever. No. 596

53rd Henry III. A.D. 1268-9

Betw. Ralph de Abbenhale and Matilda,[1] his wife, q., and Richard le Lung and Margery, his wife, def., of one messuage and one virgate of land with app^ces^ in Abbenhale, whereof a plea of warranty of charter was summoned between them, to wit, that the aforesaid Richard and Margery recognised the said messuage and land as being the right of the same Ralph and Matilda, and as those which the same Ralph and Matilda had of the gift of the said Richard and Margery, to hold to the said Ralph and Matilda[1] and the heirs of the same Ralph of the aforesaid Richard and Margery and the heirs of the same Margery for ever, rendering per annum one rose at the feast of St. John Baptist for all services, suit at court, etc., and warranted the same.

No. 650

53rd Henry III. A.D. 1268-9

Betw. William, son of Ralph de Aure, q., and William de Bosco, def., of half a virgate of land with app^ces^ in Aure, whereof a plea of warranty of charter was summoned between them, etc., to wit, that the aforesaid William de Bosco recognised the aforesaid land as the right of William, son of Ralph, and as those which the said William, son of Ralph, had of the gift of William de Bosco, to hold to the

[1] These are the same Ralph and Matilda mentioned in Nos. 450 and 473.

said William, son of Ralph, and his heirs of the said William de Bosco and his heirs for ever, rendering per annum one rose at the feast of St. John Baptist for all services, etc., to the said William pertaining, and make to the chief Lord of the fee for the said William and his heirs all the services to the said land pertaining and the said William warranted the same accordingly. No. 653

56th Henry III. A.D. 1271-2

Betw. Walter de Blakeney, q., and Ralph Abenhale, def., of the Advowson of the Church of Blechedon, whereof an assize of the last presentation was summoned between them, to wit, that the said Ralph granted that the aforesaid Walter should first present his clerk, without contradiction or impediment of the said Ralph or his heirs, and for this grant and concord the said Walter granted for himself and his heirs that when it happened that the church was vacant by the death or cession of the clerk by the said Walter to the same church presented, the said Ralph, or his heirs, should present their clerk to the same church without impediment from the said Walter or his heirs. No. 671

NOTES ON THE EARLY ENGLISH LADY CHAPEL,

BUILT BY RALPH AND OLYMPIAS DE WYLINGTON, A.D. 1224.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM BAZELEY, M.A.

THE present Lady Chapel of Gloucester Cathedral was built by Abbots Richard Hanley and William Farley in the last half of the 15th century.[1] The badges—of Edward IV., *The Sun in Splendour* and the *Rose en soleil*, filling the spandrels of several of the windows are evidence that the chapel was completed during his reign, 1461-83. *Yorkist* badges would hardly have been placed here in such profusion, to the exclusion of *Lancastrian* and *Tudor*, after the accession of Henry VII. in 1485. This chapel is therefore only 400 years old; but the site on which it stands has been hallowed by the prayers of the faithful and by the sleep of the holy dead for thrice that period. Here, I believe, stood as early as the end of the 7th century the church of S. Peter, with its chapel and altar dedicated to Petronilla, the sainted virgin daughter of the chief of the apostles.[2]

The following statement of Leland, in his *Itinerary*, has been overlooked by the historians of this cathedral: "Osric, Founder of Gloucester Abbey, first laye in St. Petronell's Chappell, thence removed into our Lady Chappell, and thence remooved of late dayes, and layd under a fayre tombe of stone on the north syde of the high aulter,"[3] where no doubt his bones still rest. In 710, after a peaceful rule of 29 years, Kyneburg, the first Abbess of this monastery, was buried in front of the altar of S. Petronilla; nineteen years later, the body of the first founder, Osric, King of Northumbria, was placed in the grave of his sister Kyneburg.[4]

[1] Leland's Itinerary, see Records of Glouc. Cathedral, Vol. I., p. 143.

[2] Her Festival is on May 21st.

[3] Records of Gloucester Cathedral, Vol. I., p. 142.

[4] Historia et Cartularium, Mon. S. Petri, Glouc., Vol. I., p. 6.

The 17th century writer of the *Memoriale* of Gloucester Abbey, in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, says that a little tower in the Monk's Orchard, close to the Lady Chapel, marks the site of the ancient monastery.

In the time of Edward Confessor the N.W. angle of the Roman wall, the site of which passes through the nave, cloisters and chapter house of the cathedral, was taken down; and the ground on which it stood, as well as a wide strip outside, was given by the King to Aldred. Bishop of Worcester, for the new monastery and church of S. Peter which he was about to build. Thus the earlier church, called by Leland S. Petronell's Chapel, became isolated in the cemetery or Monk's Orchard, just as the early Saxon church of S. Michael, in which Aldhelm, the founder, was buried, became isolated at Malmesbury.

The style of architecture which we know as Saxon had passed into Norman, and Norman had been superseded by Early English when Ralph de Wylington, Lord of the manors of Sandhurst and Yate,[1] and his wife Olympias gave to God and the monks of S. Peter the funds for building a chapel in the cemetery in honour of our Lord's Mother. "Wylington Court," in the parish of Sandhurst, preserves the name of a family which ranked as noble in the days of the third Edward.

I know nothing of Ralph de Wylington's ancestry; I believe his marriage with Olympias brought him the manor of Sandhurst and gave him an interest in Gloucester Abbey. There is a beautiful original deed in the cathedral library recording the grant c. A.D. 1190 by Wymarc, widow of John Franchevaler, of six acres of land in Longford, for the purchase of iron shoes for the horses of visitors to the Abbey. This gift was assented to by one of her sons, Robert Franchevaler, and by Olympias Franchevaler, daughter of William, another son.

A few years later Olympias married Ralph de Wylington; and they conjointly confirmed Wymarc's grant.[3]

[1] He was Lord also of the manor of Brownwilly lands, in Cornwall—See Maclean's *History of Trigg Minor*, Vol. I., pp. 380, 384, where a pedigree of Wyllyngton may be found.—ED.

[2] Hist. et Cart., Vol. I., 354. Original Deeds, Vol. XI., No. 3.

[3] Hist. et Cart., Vol. I., p. 353.

In 1222, four years after Henry III. was crowned at Gloucester, when the great Justiciary, Hubert de Burg, was ruling the kingdom in the name of the young sovereign, there rose up a Benedictine architect at Gloucester skilled in the construction of those clustered shafts and graceful capitals which constrast so pleasingly with the heavy pillars and flat imposts of Norman arches. This architect was Helias, the Sacrist of the Abbey. His first work, we are told, was the erection of the great eastern tower. This must surely refer to the construction of a lofty spire on the square massive Norman tower which forms the base of the present tower.[1] No trace of this spire now remains. His second work was no doubt the building of Ralph and Olympias' Lady Chapel, which, like the spire, has utterly perished. The only architectural evidence of its former existence are two Early English windows in the crypt in the central eastern chapel. After the Lady Chapel was finished Helias proceeded to construct new stalls for the monks in the choir. A fragment of these Early English stalls has been thoughtfully and carefully preserved by Mr. Waller behind the seat of the canon-in-residence.

The water supply of the Abbey had been hitherto insufficient or unsatisfactory. The monks had been dependent on the well in the middle of the Cloister garth, or on the Fulbrook which ran along the city ditch on the north of the city, and turned the Abbey mill-wheel in Millerd's Green, now Palace Yard. We are told that Helias thereupon made a conduit for *living water* [the same beautiful expression as used by Our Lord in His conversation with the woman of Samaria]. The reservoir which he constructed has been opened within the last two or three years beneath the windows of the cloister lavatory. In Edward the Second's time the monks of S. Peter obtained a fresh supply of water from Mattesdune (now Robins' Wood Hill), and the reservoir in the cloister garth was converted into a drain.[2]

[1] Hist. et Cart., Vol. I., p. 25. "A.D. 1222, magna turris Gloucestrensis ecclesiæ orientalis auxiliante Heliâ, ejusdem monasterii sacristâ, est erecta."

[2] A.D. 1237. On the 5th ide of November died Helias of Hereford the monk who erected the tower of Gloucester Abbey, he also constructed the ancient stalls of the monks, and he made a conduit for fresh water.

Some strange fatality seems to have attached to the work of Helias: none of it was to endure. But it was not so with the work of his pupils, the monks of S. Peter, whom he inspired. After his death in 1337, they began to construct a stone vaulting for the roof of the nave and finished it in 1242.[1] The fact that a re-Dedication Service was thought necessary in 1239 is a proof how extensive were the architectural changes at that time;[2] yet, if we except the vaulting of the nave, the only Early English work that remains is that very beautiful structure in the north transept, sometimes called a reliquary, which, I venture to think, was a part of the Wylington chapel.

The MS. History and Registers of the Abbey tell us how, when Ralph and Olympias had built the Lady Chapel at their own cost, they gave lands—one hide in Abbington, two hides in Wallsworth [Walhope], and land elsewhere by the Severn—to maintain two priests to say vigils and masses daily for the souls of the founders and their kin.[3] They gave also yearly rentals to provide lights to burn before the altar of S. Petronilla, in the chapel of S. Mary, during mass, and all day long and all night on the festivals of the Virgin Mother and on the vigil of S. Petronilla.[4] I believe that Olympias was the daughter of Petronilla de Sandhurst, the sister and heiress of Milo de Sandhurst. If so, we can understand her devotion to the patron saint of Kyneburg and Osric.[5]

There is an interesting document in Abbot Frocester's Register B, [one of many that relate to this earlier Lady Chapel] in which Abbot Henry Foliet promises for himself and his successors to carry out for ever the wishes of the founders. He fixes the salary of the chaplains and their assistant at $2\frac{1}{2}$ marks annually, and allots them from the Abbey pantry their daily portion of cheese,

[1] Hist. et Cart., Vol. I., p. 29. "Et, A.D. 1242, completa est nova volta in navi ecclesiæ, non auxilio fabrorum ut primo, sed animosâ virtute monachorum item in ipso loco existentium."

[2] Hist. et Cart., Vol. I., p. 28. "A.D. 1239, Sep. 18, dedicata est ecclesia abbatiæ Gloucestriæ a Waltero de Cantelupo, &c., &c."

[3] Hist. et Cart., Vol. I., p. 59; I., 20; I., 146; II., 185; Frocester's Register B., Nos. 1106.

[4] Frocester's Register B, 1110. Hist. et Cart., Vol. I., p. 27.

[5] Comp. Frocester's Register B, 1107.

candles, bread, meat and beer. Moreover, he ordains a yearly commemoration of his pious benefactors on the anniversary of Ralph de Wylington's death.[1]

The land which the de Wylingtons gave still belongs to the church; but the donors are forgotton. In the chapel which has superseded theirs the hands of the destroyer have broken down the carved work with axes and hammers, the lamps are gone out, and the voices of the ministering priests have died away into silence.

[1] Hist. et Cart., Vol. III., p. 279, A.D. 1228-1243.

THE MANOR OF CLIFTON.

By JOHN LATIMER.

Some information respecting this manor, supplementing Mr. Alfred S. Ellis's interesting paper published in the third volume of our Transactions, is afforded by a document formerly belonging to Mr. Henry Bush, an eminent Bristol merchant early in the present century, and a member of the Society of Merchant Venturers. The manuscript in question is a copy of what lawyers call a Case, drawn up in 1683 on behalf of the Merchants' Society, to obtain the opinions of William Powlett and John Romsey, then Recorder and Town Clerk of Bristol. The appeal to the learned counsel was due to a singular cause. The Society was in possession of three-fourths of the manor of Clifton previously belonging, as Mr. Ellis has shown, to the Broke family; but they appear to have been wholly unaware of the existence of the other manor in the same parish held, down to the suppression of the monasteries, by the Dean and Canons of Westbury, and afterwards granted by Henry VIII. to Sir Ralph Sadlier. The discovery that certain persons were claiming part of the "waste" of the parish by virtue of rights acquired from the Sadlier family appears to have plunged the Society in consternation, and the Case was drawn up to obtain counsel's advice as to the best method of resisting those claims. The manuscript affords no light as to the result of the dispute, which was in fact terminated by the Society's purchase of the ecclesiastical manor. But the Case affords information, hitherto unpublished, as to the descent of the larger manor from the death of Hugh Broke in 1588, and consequently fills up a gap in Mr. Ellis's communication.[1] The following is a summary of the title deeds recited :—

14th September, 44th Elizabeth (1602). Thomas Bathill, Esq., in consideration of £200, grants to John Young, his heirs and

[1] Trans. Vol. III., p 226.

assigns, the moiety of the manor or lordship of Clifton, sometime the manor of Hugh Brooke, Esq., and the moiety of eleven tenements, namely, a messuage with 74 acres of land, a messuage and 35½ acres of land, a messuage and 43 acres, two messuages with 61 acres and 8 acres of wood and woody ground near Rownham, a messuage with 32 acres of land and 8 acres of wood, a messuage with 26 acres, a messuage with 32½ acres, a cottage and one acre, 10 acres of meadow in the tenure of George Batten, and 12 acres of meadow. With covenants against himself and against Hugh Brooke and Sir David Brooke, saving existing leases for terms of years.

26th July, 1st James I. (1603). William Clarke [of Minchin Barrow, who married one of the four coheiresses of Hugh Broke] in consideration of £100, grants to John Young and his heirs, all that fourth part of the manor or lordship of Clifton sometime the manor of Hugh Brooke, and which fourth was the part of Susan, wife of Hugh Halzwell, one of the four daughters of Brooke, and soon after her death conveyed to the said Clarke and Frances his wife.

4 May, 3d James I. (1605). John Young, reciting that he had just levied a fine of his fourth part of the manor and of 16 messuages, 16 gardens, 200 acres of land, 100 acres of meadow, and 600 acres of pasture and common in Clifton, Westbury and Redland, to Robert Annesley (?) and John Throughton, declares the use of the fine to himself for life, or his assigns; remainder to his wife for life; remainder to his daughter Margaret.

29 October, 7 James I. (1609). John Young, by indenture made between himself of the first part, Giles Daubeny, Thomas Young, and others of the second part, and Andrew Whittington, son and heir of Henry Whittington, of the third part, in consideration of a marriage had between himself and Phillip his wife, late the wife of the said Henry, and of another marriage to be had between Andrew Whittington and Margaret his daughter, covenants to stand seized, *inter alia*, of his share of the manor of Clifton to himself for life, remainder to Margaret and her heirs.

12 January, 12 James I. (1615). John Young, in consideration of his love for his daughter Margaret, grants to Thomas Young,

Christopher Cary and Richard Winter his three parts of the manor of Clifton, and other lands, in trust to himself for life, remainder to Andrew and Margaret Whittington and their heirs.

[Mr. Ellis has shewn that Andrew Whittington died in 1634, in possession of the above estate, leaving a son, John, then 18 years of age.]

Trinity Term, 22 Charles I. (1646). A recovery is suffered of the manor of Clifton, and of 12 messuages, 12 gardens, 200 acres of land, 40 acres of meadow, 150 acres of pasture, and 200 of furze and heath, wherein John Whittington is vouched to warranty.

1 October, 15 Charles II. (1663). John Whittington covenants with Francis and Thomas Yeamans to levy a fine of three parts of the manor of Clifton, and declares the use to Joseph Langton for a term of 1000 years, to him granted by an indenture of equal date ; remainder to his own heirs.

26 October, 20 Charles II. (1668). William Whittington, son and heir of John, in consideration of £1080, grants unto Isaac Morgan and his heirs, three parts in four of the manor of Clifton, except the messuage late held by Richard Yeamans and now of Acliff Green, and the wood called Rownham Wood, and the house occupied by John Fayne built in part of that wood, and a cottage at the end of the wood, and 4 acres of land, occupied severally by John Harry and John Hodges, Esq., and 2 acres more in the little field, all of which were lately sold to Acliff Green.

5 October, 20 Charles II. (1668). Edmund Arundill, merchant, releases to Isaac Morgan his interest in three parts of the manor.

16 and 17 May, 22 Charles II. (1670). Indentures of lease and release, by which Isaac Morgan conveyed to Richard Mountanay three parts in four of the manor, upon considerations to be void if he should faithfully execute the office of Collector of Customs at Bristol according to a bond dated 12th June, 1669.

Isaac Morgan failing to give a just account of the execution of his office, an extent issued upon his bond, which was of a great penaltie, and the manor was thereupon extented. And thereupon

John Bawer, merchant, having paid off Morgan's arrears, died. Whereupon, 1 June, 26 Charles II. (1674) the executors of Bawer [word illegible] a lease for his moiety of the manor to be made to Nicholas Christmas and Peter Saunders in trust for them.

1 and 2 May, 26 Charles II. (1674). Indentures of lease and release, the latter made between Richard Mountaney of the first part, the farmers of Customs of the second part, and N. Christmas and P. Saunders of the third part. Reciting the conveyance to Mountaney, and that the farmers of Customs had deputed Morgan to be collector, and that he had failed in discharging the office, and that an extent had issued. In consideration of £5 to Mountaney, and of £800 to the farmers, Mountaney conveyed to Christmas and Saunders [a portion of the leaf apparently wanting, and the next two deeds are out of place].

1 October, 24 Charles II. (1672). Lease for a year granted by Isaac Morgan to John Power [? Bawer] of two third (*sic*) parts of the manor.

2 October, 24 Charles II. For re-imbursing John Power [Bawer ?] such money as he had paid to the farmers of Customs, Morgan conveys the premises recited in the above lease.

11 and 12 May, 26 Charles II. (1674). Lease and release, by which Christmas and Saunders, in consideration of the trust reposed in them convey three parts of the manor to John Hind and Richard Lane in trust for Thomas Moore and Roger Pothrow, the executors of John Power [Bawer ?].

12 June, 1674. Thomas Moore, Roger Pothrow, John Hind, Richard Lane, Nicholas Christmas and Peter Saunders in consideration of £1100 paid to the two first by Thomas Day, grant to Day three parts in four of the manor for a term of 1000 years upon con [words illegible] upon payment of £1133 on the 30th December following.

[No date][1] Isaac Morgan, being seized in fee simple of three parts in four of the manor, conveyed the same to the Corporation of the Merchant Adventurers of Bristol, and their successors for ever.

[Having given the above somewhat puzzling abstract of title, the Case proceeds as follows] :[1]

In this manor are considerable waste. One Lambe, himself owner of one fourth part did in truth make more profit of his fourth than the Merchants did of the other three. On counsels advice a Bill was exhibited to discover Lambe's title to his part, when he set out that one fourth of the manor was in the reign of King James granted to one Hodges, which by several conveyances came to him. After this a writ of partition was advised to be brought against Lambe to secure for the Merchants all that part of the waste lying along the river for their three fourth parts, leaving Lambe some other part for his fourth (in case he had a right to it).

But upon a more strict inquiry we found one Mr. Deane and the heirs of G. Heley [Kelly ?][2] pretended to a share of the waste, but would show no more of it than that they claimed it under the title of Mr. Sadlier, "all that his manor of Clifton and all Royalties in a several tenement in Clifton"; so that it seemed as if there were two manors of Clifton, one of which manors descended to four daughters, three of whose Morgan had, under whom the Merchants claim. The property of the fourth daughter as Mr. Lambe came to him. The other manor which was Sadlier's under whom Mr. Deane and Kelly claimed that the waste belonged to both manors, whether jointly or severally appeareth not. Whereupon counsel being consulted again directed not to proceed with the partition against Lambe till we had a more full discovery of Deane and Keleys title to the said waste, and in order thereunto directed that what light could be gotten concerning Mr. Sadlier's manor and what profits he had made thereof. And to try whether any ancient Patent or writings concerning Mr. Sadlier's manor of Clifton, and take notes of what is found there. If by either of these ways discovery could be made that Sadler had this manor by patent from the King, and that it was

[1] According to a report presented by Messrs. Brice and Burges to the corporation of Bristol in May, 1859, the above conveyance was made in 1676.

[2] Mr. A. J. Knapp, in his Handbook of Clifton (page 14), states that, in 1668, John and Arthur Good, then holding Sadlier's manor, sold it to Gabriel Deane, of Bristol, merchant, and Abel Kelly.

abbey or priory lands, then know to what abbey or priory it belonged, and then by search in the Augmentation Office what tenements that manor consisted of. Pursuant to this direction it was discovered by Mr. Edwards from Mr. Justice Cole, who was Sadler's Steward, that Sadler had a manor of Clifton which formerly belonged to the College at Westbury. A copy of the Survey Book of the manor was obtained from Mr. Justice Cole, but no certain waste is mentioned in it. [Proofs of the existence of the manor and of the grant to Sadler, 35 Henry VIII, on payment of 20s. per annum, and of surrender to him by the Dean and Chapter of Westbury were found by Edwards at the Augmentation Office]. On counsel's advice thereupon a Bill in Chancery was issued against Lambe, Deane and Keley to discover their rights to the waste. In answer Deane, and Keley set forth their title to the manor, but were silent as to the waste. Lambe pleads the purchase to Hodges, and claims under Hodges, and is not bound to discover his title further. Counsel next advised the examination of witnesses and that Lambe's plea should be argued. But before any more was done the reference was to Greene and Wickham where it hath rested ever since.

Quere. What is now to be done.

[The following were the opinions of the Recorder and Town Clerk, so far as Mr. Bush was able to decipher them. Apparently one or two lines were illegible.]

As to the Merchants' title to three parts I think there is no doubt . . . . . .

I think the parties ought to pursue the course they were in at the time of the reference made according to the directions above recited. And to go on where they left off by the of that reference.

Jany. 19, 1683. WM. POWLETT.

I am of the same opinion.

JOHN ROMSEY, Jany. 21, 1683.

Mr. Knapp, in the work already cited, states that the Merchants' Company purchased the ecclesiastical manor from Deane and Kelly, and further litigation with them was thus avoided. The

fourth part of the lay manor belonging to Lambe appears to have been divided amongst numerous descendants, and in some later deeds is styled an entire manor. From some legal documents in the Jefferies MSS., in Redcliff Street, one moiety of this co-called manor was acquired on the 20th June, 1809, by Jeremiah Osborne, probably on behalf of the Society of Merchants.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

BY THE REV. C. S. TAYLOR,
Vicar of S. Thomas the Martyr, Bristol.

THIS paper is intended to be a continuation of the one on "Early Christianity in Gloucestershire," which appeared in Vol XV. of the Transactions of this Society, and its purpose is to carry on the history of the district to about the date of the battle of Ellandune in 825; having regard first to the government of the district; then to its external relations with Wessex, and the Welsh border; and finally to its ecclesiastical condition.

Within the first fifteen years of the eighth century all the pioneers and founders of Christianity among the Hwiccians had died, or left the district. Ethelred, King of the Mercians, retired to the monastery of Bardney in 704. and Aldfrid, King of the Northumbrians, died in 705; S. Aldhelm and S. Wilfred died in 709, Kyneburh, Abbess of Gloucester, died in 710, and Ælfleda, Abbess of Whitby, in 713. We find ourselves among new men and worse men; S. Boniface, writing to King Ethelbald of Mercia about 745, dates the commencement of the evil times from the accession of Osred in Northumbria in 705, and that of Ceolred in Mercia in 709.

The last twenty-five years of the reign of Ethelred seem to have been a period of peace abroad and prosperity at home, and when he retired to Bardney his throne was occupied by Coenred, son of Wulphere, who seems to have been like-minded with himself. Coenred resigned his kingdom in 709, and went to Rome, where he became a monk, and remained till the day of his death.

Ceolred, son of Ethelred, of whom we hear but little, and that not good, reigned till 716; and the remainder of the period is almost covered by the long reigns of Ethelbald, son of Alwy, 716-

757 ; Offa, son of Thingferth, 757-796 ; and Kenulf, son of Cuthbert, 796-821. All these Mercians kings were descended from Pybba, the father of Penda, but it is remarkable that the throne did not descend from father to son, except in the case of Ecgferth, son of Offa, who reigned for 141 days in 796, and Kenelm, son of Kenulf, who may have reigned for a few months in 822.

Ceolwulf succeeded in September, 822, but was almost immediately deprived of his kingdom ; and his successor, Beornulf, was crushed by Egbert, King of the West Saxons, at the battle of Ellandune in 825, and was shortly afterwards slain by the East Angles.

It has been necessary to trace the succession of the Mercian kings, but Gloucestershire lay at the very extremity of the Mercian realm, the two chief cities of the district, Gloucester and Bath, were in the hands of ecclesiastics, and except in the case of war the Mercian kings seem to have visited the district very little, until Kenulph founded his monastery at Winchcombe. Moreover, at the beginning of the period, and also during the early part of the reign of Offa, the Hwiccians seem to have been under the immediate rule of Viceroys of their own, entitled "Reges," "Reguli," or "Sub-reguli," It will be well in the first instance to trace the history of these Viceroys.

It was shewn in the former paper that the first of them after Eanfrid and Eanhere mentioned by Bede (H. E, IV. 13) was Osric. son of Alchfrid, the son of Oswy, King of Northumbria ; and also that there was good reason for believing that Osric may have been appointed "Rex" of the Hwiccians, on the accession of his uncle Ethrelred to the Mercian throne in 675, and that he may have been recalled to Northumbria on the death of Ecgfrid in 685.

The successor of Osric was named Oshere, and they are the only two of the Viceroys to whom the title "Rex" is given ; their successors are all "Reguli" or "Sub-reguli."

It is not easy to fix the precise period of the rule of Oshere. Florence of Worcester (M.H.B., 622) states that it was at his request that King Ethelred founded the See of Worcester in 679,

and in 706 Æthelweard, who styles himself "Subregulus, Osheri quondam Regis Wicciorum filius," gave twelve cassates of land at Ambreslege to Evesham. The charter is accepted as genuine by Haddan and Stubbs (iii. 278), and shews that Oshere had died or resigned his rule before 706. With regard to the earlier date it must be remembered that Osric in the foundation Charter of Bath states that in accordance with the direction of the decrees of the Synod (of Hertford) he had determined to found a Bishop's See. But there was evidently a good deal of delay in founding the See of Worcester, and it may well be that the arrangements were begun under Osric, and completed under Oshere.

The question of the relationship between Osric and Oshere is a more important one, and can be settled, perhaps, with some degree of certainty. A letter is extant, written between 716 and 722, from an Abbess Egburga to S. Boniface, in which she calls herself the last of his Scholars, and tells him that since the death of her brother Oshere, she has transferred all her sisterly affection to him [1] If we may identify this Egburga with the Eadburga who was Abbess of Gloucester, 710-735, and who is described as a sister of Kyneburh, who was a sister of Osric, then Oshere would have been a brother of Osric.

In this case the family of Alchfrid and Kyneburh the daughter of Penda, would have been as follows :—Osric, "Rex Wicciorum," afterwards King of the Northumbrians; Oshere, who succeeded him in the government of the Hwiccian realm; Oswald, Abbot of Pershore; Kyneburh and Eadburga, in succession Abbesses of Gloucester.

As Alchfrid and Kyneburh were married about 653, and Æthilweard, son of Oshere, granted land as "Subregulus" in 706, it is not likely that Oshere was a son either of Osric or of Oswald, though he might well have been their brother.

Oshere had four sons: Æthilheard, Æthelric, Æthelweard, and Æthelbert, of whom Æthelweard and Æthelric at least are entitled "Subregulus"; but I cannot find any instance in which they exercised any authority after the accession of Ceolred in 709.

[1] Dict. Christ. Biog. "Egburga," "Oshere."

Æthelric, however, survived till 736, for he witnessed a genuine charter of that year as—"Æthelric subregulus atque comes gloriosissimi principis Æthelbaldi." And a copy of a charter of the same year is extant in which Ethelbald grants land at Wootton-on-the-Alne—"reverentissimo comiti meo mihique satis caro filio quondam Huicciorum regis Oosherœs Æthelricæ." It is a Worcester charter, and there seems to be no reason for doubting its genuineness. Æthelric would appear to be in favour with King Ethelbald, though there is no proof that he or any one of his brothers exercised any authority as "Subregulus" during the reign of that King, or of his predecessor, Ceolred.

But immediately on the accession of Offa the Viceroys reappear. "Eanberhtus Deo prædestinante regulus propriæ gentis Huicciorum simulque germani mei mecum Uhtredus videlicet et Aldredus eadem vocabuli dignitate et imperio fungentes" grant land at Tredington to Milred, Bishop of Worcester, for S. Peter's Church, where the bodies of their parents rest. The three brothers sign the Charter first, then follows Milred, and then—"Ego Offa nondum regno Mercionum a domino accepto puer indolis in provincia Huicciorum constitutus." It would seem that the grant had been made by the three brothers as "reguli," even before Offa was recognised as King of the Mercians.

The three brothers granted land at Onnanford, near Withington, to Abbot Headda in 759, but after that date the name of Eanberht disappears. Uhtred and Aldred, however, continue to grant land, with mention of the consent of Offa, till about 780. After them, there were no more Viceroys of the Hwiccians, but Ethelmund, Earldorman of the Hwiccians, is mentioned in the Chronicle as meeting his death in an expedition into Wessex at Kempsford on the day of Egbert's accession in 800.

Ethelmund was the son of Ingeld, and had received grants of land at Easton from Uhtred in 767 and 770, but I do not know that any relationship can be traced between him and Uhtred. After Ethelmund, no special ruler of the Hwiccians is mentioned at all.

It is possible, however, that the earlier and later groups of Viceroys were related. A grant of King Ethelred to Bishop Oftfor is extant, made after the murder of his Queen, Osthryth, in 697, of land at Fladbury ; and on this grant is noted an exchange made by S. Ecgwin of the land at Fladbury with Æthilheard, son of Oshere, for a much smaller estate at Stratford, on condition that the land reverted to Worcester on the death of Æthilheard. It should be noted, however, that the genuineness of this grant is doubted, chiefly because it is thought that Oftfor ceased to be Bishop before the death of Osthryth. The date, however, of the close of Oftfor's episcopate is quite uncertain, and it is quite possible that he retained his See after 697.

During the episcopate of Tilhere, 775-781, and, apparently, by his license, and at his request, Aldred granted to his kinswoman (propinqua), Æthelburga, the monastery at Fladbury to lapse to Worcester on her death. " Et ei præcipio in almo nomine superi polorum rectoris ut ipsa nec Dei nec meam habeat licentiam hoc in aliud mutare nisi ita implere sicut præceptum erat Ælfredi et Æthelheardi Egcwinique Episcopi qui hanc terram prius obtinuerunt nobisque tradiderunt "

It would seem that the land had not lapsed to the cathedral on the death of Æthelheard, but had passed from him to Ælfred and from Ælfred to Aldred. If, as seems likely, Ælfred was the son of Æthelheard, and the father of Aldred and his brothers, then Offa's Viceroys would have been great-grandchildren of Oshere ; and Aldred's grant to Æthelburga would have been a method of recognising the family claim, and at the same time securing the estate ultimately to Worcester, to which church it was at length confirmed by a grant from Kenulf to Bishop Deneberht.

It is interesting to note that if Oshere was a brother of Osric, Aldred and his brothers were the last male descendants of Penda.

It is impossible to say how much real authority these " reguli " and " subreguli " possessed. The titles were somewhat loosely used, the same person being sometimes " regulus," sometimes " subregulus " ; even Oshere, who was certainly " Rex," is styled " subregulus " in Archbishop Nothelm's decision concerning

Withington. Their grants, however, are almost always made with the leave and consent of the King.

It is difficult to account for the revival of the office of Viceroys under Offa, except on the supposition that Eanberht and his brothers assisted Offa in securing the crown, and were rewarded in this way.

To pass now to the consideration of the relation between the Hwiccians in what is now Gloucestershire, and their West Saxon neighbours.

It seems clear that from the Sea to the Foss Road East of Bath the Avon divided the kingdoms; except that the borough of Bath probably crossed the river. But whether the boundary between Mercia and Wessex was exactly that which now parts Gloucestershire and Wilts is not so clear. Cirencester was certainly Mercian, Ashdown and Wanborough were certainly West Saxon. The Chronicle seems to imply that when Ethelmund crossed the Thames at Kempsford, he passed from Mercia into Wessex, and Malmesbury always appears as a West Saxon monastery. On the other hand the greater part of Minety was in Gloucestershire till quite recently, and Ecgfrid granted Purton to Malmesbury during his short reign in 796, probably as an act of reparation for an invasion by Offa on the property of the Church.

Perhaps the line of division was well marked in the open country, but the forest district of Braden was a debateable land.

If the "Berghford," at which land at Somerford was granted to Malmesbury by Berhtwald, "subregulus," in 685, were Burford, in Oxfordshire, then the boundary between the Hwiccians and the West-Saxons of the Valley of the Cherwell, lay to the East of the present boundary between Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire, probably through Wychwood forest. For the signatures of the land-charter include Ethelred, King of the Mercians; Bosel, Bishop of Worcester; and Sexwulf, Bishop of Lichfield. Moreover, Berhtwald was the Mercian under-King who had sheltered S. Wilfrid in 681.

To the East of Wychwood there was a West Saxon See at Dorchester, near Oxford, from the consecration of Birinus in 650

till Bishop Wina went to London in 666; and the district probably remained West-Saxon till Ethelbald captured Somerton in 733.

With regard to the relations between Mercia and Wessex, Ethelred and Ine were men of like minds, and there was no breach of peace between them, the same conditions also no doubt obtained between Ine and Coenred; but in 715 we hear of a fierce struggle between Ine and Ceolred at Wanborough. From the position of the battlefield Ceolred was probably the aggressor. Henry of Huntingdon says of the battle—"adeo autem horribiliter pugnatum est utrinque, ut nesciatur cui clades detestabilior contigerit." Ceolred does not seem to have penetrated any further into Wessex, and he died in the following year, according to S. Boniface, a raving madman at a feast.

Peace was maintained between the two kingdoms till 733, when we are told that Ethelbald conquered Somerton. This Somerton was, I believe, the village on the Cherwell, south of Banbury; and not the place of that name near Langport. It is incredible that Ethelbald would have been permitted to penetrate thirty miles into Wessex without a contest, whereas the Oxfordshire Somerton must have lain near the Midland boundary between Mercia and Wessex. In 571 the West-Saxons, after the battle of Bedford, took Lenbury, Aylesbury, Benson and Eynsham, and there is no reason to suppose that they had lost this territory prior to 733. The district represented by this conquest lay to the East and South-East of Somerton; the country to the West and North-West round Evesham and Stratford was certainly Mercian. The neighbourhood of Somerton, therefore, would be a very likely point at which the West-Saxons of the valley of the Cherwell would strive to check an invasion from the North. The capture of Somerton by Ethelbald probably involved the loss of the whole of the Cherwell valley, and the driving back of the West-Saxon frontier to the course of the Thames; so that the Eastern boundary of the Hwiccians from the Thames to near Moreton-in-Marsh was no longer open to hostile attacks, and their district was now safe unless it was attacked by the West Saxons on the South, or the North Welsh beyond the Severn.

There is a doubtful charter, which from the subscriptions would date 726-737, in which Ethelbald grants land at Wacenesfel to Abingdon Abbey, and confirms its possessions on both sides of the Thames; it purports to be confirmed also by Ethelhard, King of the West-Saxons—"in expeditione ultra fluvium Sabrina adversus Britonum gentem.' Whether the charter in its present form is genuine or not, it is very probable that Ethelbald would have given a confirmation to the abbey of its lands in the territory which had recently come into his possession.

The Mercians, however, did not hold undisputed possession of the district, for we are told that in 752 Cuthred, King of the West Saxons, fought with Ethelbald at Burford and put him to flight. Probably Cuthred advanced along the Ermine Street as far as Stratton St. Margaret, and then turned aside through Highworth, towards the district which had been captured in 733, when Ethelbald met him. Cuthred's victory would have availed the West-Saxons little, for he died in 754, and after his death the succession was disputed. In any case, Offa's great victory over Cynewulf and the West-Saxons at Benson in 777 would have assured to the Mercians all the country North of the Thames, so that the Southern boundary of Mercia was now a natural one formed by the valleys of the Thames and Avon.

It is said that after the death of Eva, Abbess of Gloucester, in 767, there were no more Abbesses, and the house fell into decay until the days of Beornulf; though it certainly did not cease to exist till that time, for Ethelric declared his intention of leaving the land of 30 "manentes" under Ofre to Gloucester in 804. Possibly monks took the place of nuns, as there were "fratres" at Bath in 758. Probably Offa took the estates of the house into his own hands, and kept possession of the City of Gloucester, which would be a point of great importance to him in the wars with the Welsh. Doing with regard to Gloucester then what he certainly did with regard to Bath fourteen years later, and for the same reason. For it was evidently a source of weakness that Bath lying on the Fosse road at the point where it entered Mercia should be in ecclesiastical hands, and Offa determined to obtain possession of it.

Tilhere, Bishop of Worcester, died in 781, and shortly after the appointment of his successor Heathored, Offa demanded the surrender not only of the monastery of Bath, but also of estates at Stratford, Sture, Sture in Usmere, Bredon, and Homtune, on the ground that they belonged to him as of the inheritance of King Ethelbald. It is certain, however, that all these estates were by right ecclesiastical property, though it is likely enough that Ethelbald had taken possession of some or all of them. The matter was evidently regarded as one of very great importance, and was decided at a council held at Brentford in 781 before the change of Indiction in September. Heathored surrendered Bath and retained all the other estates in dispute; the decree is signed by King Offa, six "principes," Archbishop Jaenberht and the whole episcopate of his Province

The transaction is a most interesting one, because it is possible to trace the exact limits of the territory thus transferred from the Bishop to the King. The land at Bath is described as being that of "90 manentium," and Heathored says that he or one of his predecessors had purchased 30 cassates on the south of the Avon for a fitting price from Cynewulf, who became King of the West Saxons in 755.

The Hundred of Bath is thus entered in Domesday Survey[1]:—

North of Avon	H.	V.	South of Avon	H.	V.
Bathwick	7	–	Lyncombe	10	–
Woolley	2	–	Monkton Combe	9	–
Weston	20	–	Freshford	6	–
Bathford	10	–	Bathampton	5	–
Tadwick in Swainswick	2	–	Charlcombe	4	–
Langridge	2	2	Claverton	5	–
Kelston	5	–	Whiteoxmead in Wellow	1	–
Batheaston	6	2			
Burgum quod vocatur Bade	20	–		40	–
	75	–	Less Lyncombe	10	–
Lyncombe	10	–			
	85	–		30	–

[1] Eyton, Domesday Studies, Somerset, ii., 14.

Very probably Lyncombe was an appendage of the Borough of Bath; its subtraction from the 40 hides south of the river leaves exactly 30 hides corresponding to the 30 cassates purchased from Cynewulf, and its addition to the 75 hides north of the river gives a total of 85 hides to correspond with the land of the "90 manentium" which Heathored surrendered. It will be noticed that the places contained in the Hundred of Bath correspond exactly to the portion of Somerset north of the Avon; but Bath did not become West-Saxon for more than a century after the Synod of Brentford, for Burhred, King of the Mercians, held a Witanagemot there on July 25th, 864; possibly its transference followed on the death of Alfred, reeve of Bath, which is noted in the Chronicle under the year 906; just as King Edward took possession of the territory that pertained to London and Oxford on the death of Alderman Ethelred in 912.

On the day of Egbert's accession to the throne of the West Saxons, Earldorman Ethelmund, as we have seen, invaded Wiltshire at Kempsford, he was met by the Wiltshiremen under their Earldorman Weoxtan; in the battle which ensued both leaders were slain, but the invaders were defeated, and Kenulf remained at peace with Egbert during the remainder of his reign.

In 823, however, Beornulf invaded Wessex, the armies met at Ellandune, and after a frightful slaughter in which Hun, leader of the men of Somerset, perished, and which is noted by all the Chroniclers, Egbert was victorious. The men of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Essex, and East Anglia threw off the Mercian yoke; and shortly afterwards Egbert appointed Wiglaf to rule the Mercians as an under-King.

The scene of this crushing defeat was no doubt Wroughton, near Swindon, a large part of which parish appears in Domesday as a possession of the monks of the cathedral at Winchester under the name of "Elendune." Probably "Mons Eallæ," as Florence paraphrases the name, was Barbury, the scene of Cynric's victory in 556.

To pass from the West Saxon territory on the East and South of the Hwiccian realm to the Welsh territory on the west. It

seems clear that the district between the Severn and the Wye did not come into the possession of the West Saxons after the battle of Dyrham in 577 ; had it done so it would have belonged to the Hwiccians, and would have been subject to the Bishop of Worcester. But Bede, writing in 731, distinguishes between the Hwiccians under their Bishop Wilfrid (of Worcester), "et eis populis qui ultra amnem Sabrinam ad occidentem habitant" under their Bishop Walchstod (of Hereford) ; the Forest Deanery was in the Diocese of Hereford till the See of Gloucester was founded, and was in fact visited by the Archdeacon of Hereford, who received the procurations, in the spring of each year until 1836.

Originally, the English Bishops were Bishops of nationalities not of districts. The Bishop whose See was at Worcester was Bishop of the Hwiccians, he who sat at Hereford was Bishop of the Magesætas ; but in later days when Mercia was mapped out into shires the separate nationalities had disappeared, and the shire boundaries did not run on the old lines. Warwickshire was taken partly from the Diocese of Lichfield, partly from Worcester ; Shropshire partly from Lichfield, partly from Hereford ; Gloucestershire East of the Severn from the Diocese of Worcester, the old territory of the Hwiccians, while the Forest district had pertained to the land of the Magesætas, whose Bishop's seat was at Hereford. Thus it is uncertain when the Forest of Dean passed finally from the possession of the Welsh ; from the reign of Offa onward it was without doubt English, but equally without doubt it was subject to Hereford, and not to Gloucester, until the shire of Gloucester was formed, probably in the tenth, possibly not till the beginning of the eleventh, century.

When we are told that in 743 Ethelbald and Cuthred fought against the Welsh, the foreigners referred to are no doubt the West Welsh of Devon and Cornwall ; and the expedition against the Welsh beyond the Severn, mentioned in the doubtful Abingdon Charter already referred to, is not noticed either in the English or Welsh Chronicles. But the Welsh Chronicle notes that in 721 the action of Pencoed and the fight of Garthmælog took place, and that in both these battles the Britons were

victorious. The editor of the "Monumenta Historica Britannica" places the scene of these battles between Llantrissant and Bridgend in Glamorganshire; if this is correct, and they were fought against English invaders, then the invasion must have been under the direction of Ethelbald, and possibly the fact that it was unsuccessful may account for the omission of any mention of it from the English Chronicle.

Three years after the accession of Offa in 760, the Welsh Chronicles mention a battle between the Britons and Saxons at Hereford. Probably this signifies an invasion by the Welsh. But before many years were passed the tables were turned. The Welsh Chronicles mention two great invasions by Offa, one in 776 or 778, the other in 784. It is in connection with the latter invasion that we hear of the construction of Offa's dyke, which we are told was made "as a boundary between him and the Welsh, to enable him the more easily to withstand the attack of his enemies."

And so far as the Forest district is concerned Offa's dyke is evidently a defensive and not an offensive work; for it lies on the east side of the Wye, which remained a Welsh river. Had the English King been strong enough to do so, he would no doubt have crossed the river and placed the boundary on the further shore, where it would have been much more useful as a base for invasion of the Welsh territory. Evidently Offa had gone as far as he or any Englishman could; the boundary remained where he had placed it for nearly three centuries, till in 1070 it was carried westward to the Usk by the first Norman Earl of Hereford, William Fitzosbern. Kenulf ravaged South Wales in 818, but it seems to have been a mere plundering expedition, which brought no extension of territory.

Passing to the Ecclesiastical History of the district, there is no evidence to shew that at the death of Ethelred there were any other Religious Establishments, in what is now Gloucestershire, except those at Gloucester, Tetbury and Withington, the history of which has already been traced. But by the end of our period there were also churches, great or small, at Beckford, Berkeley,

Cheltenham, Cleeve, Deerhurst, Twining, Winchcombe, Westbury-on-Trym, and Yate. It will be helpful to trace shortly the origin of these establishments as far as possible.

"Monasteria" at Beckford and Cheltenham are mentioned in the record of the settlement of a dispute between Deneberht, Bishop of Worcester, and Wulfheard, Bishop of Hereford which was effected at the Council at Cloveshoe in 803, when the Archiepiscopate of Lichfield was abolished. Deneberht claimed the "pastus" or profit of the estates; Wulfheard denied that it had belonged to him or any of his predecessors for at least thirty years; but Deneberht proved that Weremund, Bishop of Worcester in 775 had received "pastus" at Beckford, and that Heathored, Bishop, 781-798, had done the same at Cheltenham, and that Wulfheard himself had paid him money for this "pastus." It was decided that on the death of Deneberht the estates should pass entirely to the See of Worcester, but that during his life half the profits should go to the Archbishop of Canterbury, namely, in one year those from Beckford, and in alternate years those from Cheltenham. These "Monasteria" evidently existed in 775, but by whom they were founded there is no evidence to shew. Probably the 30 hides at Prestbury and Sevenhampton, noted in Domesday as belonging to the Church of Hereford, were in some way connected with the property claimed by Wulfheard; but the Survey notes nothing at Beckford or Cheltenham as belonging to Worcester.

Tilhere, Bishop of Worcester, 777-781, is said to have been Abbot of Berkeley, and on the authority of Florence of Worcester, Ethelhun, who became Bishop in 915, certainly was so. The Chronicle and Florence also note the death of Ceolburga, Abbess of Berkeley, in 805; she was the widow of Earldorman Ethelmund, and to her Ethelric, her son, left his estates at Westbury and Stoke Bishop for her life with reversion to Worcester. The monastery at Berkeley, however, retained them till Earldorman Ethelred restored them to Worcester in 883. Tilhere signs as Abbot as early as 759, but there is no evidence to shew when, or by whom, the monastery at Berkeley was founded. It is probable

that its endowment consisted of the whole of the ancient Hundred of Berkeley. It is said to have survived till the reign of the Confessor, when it perished through the treachery of Earl Godwin.

With regard to the ancient house of Canons at Cirencester, Collinson[1] states on the authority of "Chronicon Abbat. Cirencest. M.S. penes Edit." that it was founded by Alwyn, a Saxon, in the time of King Egbert. The Manuscript Chronicle cannot now be traced, and I am indebted to the Rev. E. A. Fuller for this information, as well as for the following note made after a visit to Sir Thomas Phillips' library at Cheltenham: "When the Charter of Henry I. was enrolled in Chartulary A in the reign of Henry III. the following memorandum was entered—not: quod monasterium Cirencestrie stabilitum fuit circa ccc annos. The note may possibly be a little later, the ink is not the same, but the hand-writing is early." E.A.F.

No doubt Cirencester was waste till after the close of the eighth century; but it seemed better for the sake of completeness to insert a notice of the date of the foundation of the monastery there.

The earliest mention of the monastery at Cleeve is in a charter which must have been granted 767-785, by which Offa and Aldred, "subregulus," bestow land at Timbingetun on the monastery at Cleeve and on the Church of S. Michael there. The founder and date of foundation are unknown. It appears in Domesday as a part of the possessions of the See of Worcester.

We first meet with Deerhurst in Ethelric's settlement of his property at Aclea in 804, when he settled Todenham and other estates upon it; but it was evidently a well-known church at that time, for his father, Ethelmund, who was slain at Kempsford in 800, had been buried there. Leland's statement that Deerhurst is mentioned by Bede probably arose from a mistaken reference to Bede's History, v. 2, where a "Monasterium quod vocatur Inderauuda, id est, in silva Derorum," is spoken of; but this was Beverley.

A great part of the existing church at Deerhurst is very likely the work of Ethelric. It became a Benedictine house in the

[1] History of Somerset, ii., 191.

tenth century, when St. Alphege was certainly an inmate, and was probably Abbot. Finally, in the reign of the Confessor, its estates were divided and given to endow the Abbeys of Westminster and St. Denys, the burial places of the Sovereigns of England and France.

The "Monasterium" at Twining, containing the land of three "manentes," under the name "Bituinæum," *i.e.* "between the eas" or rivers Avon and Severn, was surrendered by Deneberht, Bishop of Worcester, to King Kenulf in exchange for a remission of taxation in Worcester on St. Stephen's Day, 814. It appears in Domesday under the name of "Tueninge" as a manor of three hides in the possession of the Abbey of Winchcombe, to which church no doubt it had been given by Kenulf.

Westbury-on-Trym and Yate had been founded by Eanulf, grandfather of Offa in the reign of Ethelbald; and very probably early in his reign, for Eanulf founded his monastery at Bredon with the advice of Ethelbald, who became King in 716, and of St. Ecgwine who died in 717, and it is likely enough that Westbury and Yate were founded about the same time. At any rate, the land for all three churches was granted by Ethelbald. Later on in the century, however, both Westbury and Yate had passed into lay hands. In 778-779 Offa and Aldred, "subregulus," gave the land of 10 "Mansiones" at "Gete' which it is stated had been granted to Eanulf by Ethelbald, to the Church of S. Mary at Worcester, and it appears as a member of the great manor of Westbury-on-Trym among the possessions of the See in Domesday.

Westbury-on-Trym does not appear till quite the end of Offa's reign, then it is closely connected with the thirty cassates at Henbury and Aust which Ethelred had granted to Oftfor in 692, and the combined property is the subject of a group of grants.

At a Synod held at Cloveshoe in 794 Offa restored to the cathedral the land of five "manentes" at Aust, which the Comes Bynna had unlawfully taken. In Domesday the land at "Austreclive' is rated at five hides. And, judging from the signatures apparently at the same time and place, Offa granted to Ethelmund 55 cassates at Westbury.

By another charter, of which two forms exist, the date of which must be 791-796, Offa granted the land of sixty manentes at Westbury, and xx manentes at Henbury to Worcester Cathedral after the death of himself and his son Ecgfrid.

In another Synod of Cloveshoe, after the accession of Kenulf, probably in 798, Ethelric, the son of Ethelmund, obtained an acknowledgement that he was able to leave the land at Westminster (*i.e.* Westbury-on-Trym) as he pleased; and at a Synod of Aclea in 804 he declared his intention of leaving his land at Westminster and Stoke to his mother, Ciolburga, for her life if she survived him; on the death of the survivor it was to revert to the cathedral at Worcester. The Chronicle places the death of Ceolburga, Abbess of Berkeley, in 805. The family at Berkeley however, claimed the property, and the dispute was settled at a Synod of Cloveshoe in 824, when the right of Worcester to it was affirmed; the monastery at Berkeley retained the land in spite of this decision till 883, as we have already seen, and I believe the whole estate was not restored even then.

The history of these charters of Offa and Ethelric I believe to be this. Probably the charter granting Westbury and Henbury to Worcester after the death of Offa and Ecgfrid was first in date; then in 794 Offa granted his interest to Ethelmund, and Ecgfrid consented by his signature. But when Offa died on July 29th, 796, and Ecgfrid about December 17th following with Ethelmund in possession, it was necessary that some definite settlement should be made. Therefore at the Synod of Cloveshoe in 798, Ethelric, son of Ethelmund, though he obtained a declaration of his right to leave his property as he willed, effected the restoration of the property to Worcester which Offa had purposed, by leaving it to the cathedral after the death of his mother and himself.

The property dealt with would seem to be as follows:

At Aust the land of 5 manentes.

Henbury	—	20	—
Westbury	—	60	—
Yate	—	10	—
		95	

In Domesday this land, or part of it, is found among the possessions of the See of Worcester, thus:

	H.	V.
Westbury, Henbury, Redwick, Stoke, Yate	50	
Six Radchenists	8	
Aust-Cliff	5	
Compton Greenfield	3	2
Itchington	5	
Osbern Giffard	5	
	76	2

Shewing about 18½ hides less than the number of "manentes." I believe the deficiency is due to abstractions by the monastery at Berkeley, and is now represented by land lying in the Hundred of Berkeley, in the neighbourhood of Westbury and Henbury, entered in Domesday thus:

	H.	V.
Almondsbury	2	
Horfield (including Filton)	8	
Kingsweston	7	1
Elberton	5	
	22	1
Westbury, Henbury, and their members	76	2
	98	3

A total strikingly coincident with the number of "manentes" mentioned in Offa's grants. It will be seen, however, that the gifts of Offa and Ethelric were merely of the nature of a restitution to ecclesiastical purposes of land which Eanulf had given to the church long before.

The foundation of Winchcombe falls within our period, but it would require separate treatment.

But besides these grants to the smaller houses, both Ethelbald and Offa, and likewise Offa's viceroys, were generous benefactors to S. Peter's and S. Mary's at Worcester, though with regard to Offa and his viceroys it is probable that many of the grants were like those of Westbury and Yate, rather restitutions than free gifts.

It is possible, perhaps, to make a fair approximation to the amount of land which had come into ecclesiastical hands by the end of our period, thus :

	H.	V.
Worcester, and its dependencies	176	
Gloucester - - - -	100	
Winchcombe - - - -	39	
Evesham - - - -	28	
Pershore - - - -	11	
Deerhurst - - - - -	61	1
Berkeley - - - - -	75	
Beckford and Cheltenham - -	24	
Batsford - - - - -	8	
Woodchester - - - -	3	
	525	1
Bath - - - - -	100	
	625	1

The amount of property which afterwards belonged to Worcester is calculated from Domesday, and is correct; the whole property belonging to that church at the date of the Survey in Gloucestershire was rated at 231 hides and 1 virgate, so that two-thirds of the land had already passed into ecclesiastical hands by the end of our period.

For Gloucester I have taken one-third of the number of "tributarii," with whose land Osric is said to have endowed it, and for Winchcombe, Evesham, Pershore Deerhurst and Berkeley, I have taken half the number of hides mentioned in Domesday; these are all, I believe, under-estimates.

At the date of Domesday there were in Gloucestershire, excluding the Forest Deaneries, 2384 hides; if the 100 hides of Bath are added as they ought fairly to be, there is a total of 2484 hides. And of these 525 or 625 at least, or about one quarter of the whole, had passed into the possession of the Church within about a century and a half after the death of Penda.

The amount was excessive, and illustrates the complaints of Bede in his letter to Egbert, Bishop of York, in 734.

Bede complains that there are a number of small houses where the discipline is very loose; these, he says, might well be used as endowments for a Bishop's See, just as Cleeve, Westbury, and Withington were absorbed in Worcester.

Laymen, he says, obtained grants of land freed from the burden of secular taxation ostensibly for the purpose of founding monasteries; but either the monastery was not founded, or the discipline was so loose that the life was practically secular. An instance might very well be the land at Cold Aston and Notgrove, which Ethelbald granted 737-743 to Osred of the Royal stock of the Hwiccians, free from all secular burdens, on condition that he paid his church dues.

Again, Bede complains that the churches had obtained so much of the public land that there is none left from which the sons of nobles or of veteran soldiers may obtain estates, so that they either emigrate, or if they remain at home they live immoral lives, not sparing even virgins consecrated to God. Of the darker side of monastic life concerning which S. Boniface spoke so plainly to Ethelbald about 745, there is no evidence in the charters, but we can hardly hope that the Hwiccian houses were better than those in other parts of Mercia. We have already seen that Offa rewarded Ethelmund with a life interest in a portion of the estates of Westbury.

These houses were often at their first institution family livings. Thus Osric provided for his sister, Kyneburh, at Gloucester, and his brother, Oswald, at Pershore; and Oshere provided for Dunna and Bucga at Withington. And there was a strong tendency to keep alive the family claim against the church. Thus Bucga claimed Withington, although she was married to the thane Ridda; Offa claimed Bath and the other church estates in 781 on the ground that they were of the patrimony of Ethelbald; the sons of Oshere compelled S. Ecgwin to surrender Fladbury. It may seem clear to us that when land was given to found a monastery over which a relative of the founder would preside, that it would become church land. In those days there was evidently room for the contention that it remained a family estate.

Sometimes indeed land was given to the church on the distinct condition that the monastery was always to be ruled by one of the family of the founder if a fit person could be found. It was an endowment of the same kind with the fellowships for founder's kin at the universities. A similar arrangement was not unknown in the cathedrals in later days; thus early in the twelfth century Serlo founded the Prebend of Teynton at Sarum on condition that it should first be given to Richard "Serlonis nutrito," and ever afterwards to the nearest of kin who should be found "aptus et idoneus" for such service in the Church of Sarum. So in 759 Eanberht, Uhctred, and Aldred gave 10 cassates at Onnanford (near Withington) to Abbot Headda. Afterwards Headda gave this estate with land at Dowdeswell and "Tyreltune," which were of his own patrimony, to the monastery at Worcester on condition that so long as there was any one of his family fit for the monastic life he should receive it; if no such fit person could be found, then the land should pass to the See of Worcester. Headda was a relative of Heathored, who was Bishop at the time.

A curious instance of this practice is afforded by the history of the Cathedral estate at Sodbury. Milred, Bishop, 743-775, had granted it to Eanbald, and he to Eastmund on condition that the holder must always be in holy orders, if not it would revert to Worcester. But after Eastmund's death this condition was ignored. Probably this happened in the time of Bishop Eadberht, 822-848, for Eastmund Presbyter signed the settlement of the dispute between Worcester and Berkeley relating to the monastery of Westbury in November, 824; but Eadberht could not obtain justice, neither could Aelhun, Bishop, 848-872, neither could Werefrith till Earldorman Æthelred gathered his witan at Saltwich—probably the witenagemot at Droitwich—in 888. Thither Werefrith brought his documents and proved his case. Then Eadnoth, and Ælfred, and Ælfstan, who were in possession, promised either to find one of their kin who would take orders, or to give up the land. No one, however, would be ordained, and the matter was compromised by Eadnoth retaining possession of the land, and paying to Werefrith forty mancusses, and undertaking

to render a yearly rent of fifteen shillings to the Bishop at Tetbury. The agreement is signed by the Bishop, by five priests no doubt members of the Worcester chapter, and seven others.

I have not been able to find any trace of a ministry settled in the villages during this period ; the clergy seem to have been still attached to the Religious Houses.

Of course, however, in such a case as that in which a priest obtained a grant of an estate from the Bishop, as Eastmund held Sodbury, he might very likely live upon it. The whole number of clergy was, however, very considerable. At the final settlement of the dispute relating to Westbury-on-Trym, between Worcester and Berkeley, which took place at Westbury in November 824, there were present as many as fifty mass-priests and ten deacons, and of all other priests one hundred and sixty. The agreement is signed by the fifty priests and some of the deacons ; but altogether there must have been present as many as two hundred and ten priests. In Gloucestershire there are now 317 benefices excluding the Deaneries of Bristol and of the Forest. The decision was a triumph for the cathedral at Worcester, and no doubt the clergy from the cathedral monasteries would have mustered in force from what is now Worcestershire, as well as from Gloucestershire ; on the other hand the priests of Berkeley and its adherents would probably stay away. In any case the number of priests is so large as to indicate that the supply of clergy was quite adequate to the population ; though if they were still collected in the monasteries, their services would not have been readily available in districts where a monastery did not exist.

And so we conclude our survey of the condition of Gloucestershire in the eighth century with the thought that the Gloucestershire which we now know had already begun to be. Setting aside Bristol, which as yet was not, and Cirencester which was probably still waste, the places which were most important then are most important now. Bath and Gloucester, the old Roman cities, the seats of Osric's two great monasteries, are now Bishops' Sees and the most important centres of population in the district. The estates of the monastery at Berkeley probably

consisted of the present Hundred of Berkeley; if so, with the exception of the cathedral at Worcester, and the monastery at Gloucester, it would have been the wealthiest house in the district a thousand years ago, as the Berkeley estate is the most valuable in the shire now. Cheltenham already existed, and Tetbury and Winchcombe were well known. While village names scattered all over the shire on the East of the Severn, shew that the names of the district were then much what they are now; Withington, Dowdeswell, Aston, Notgrove, Guiting, and Turkdean, Beckford, and Batsford (Baecceshora, Domesday Beceshore), Sodbury and Yate, Westbury, Henbury, Stoke and Aust, Bibury and Woodchester, Deerhurst and Todenham, were as familiar to the Hwiccians a thousand years ago as they are to the men of the Cotswolds or of the vale to-day. Onnanford is, so far I know, the only name which cannot now be traced, but it occurs in the boundaries of Withington, and the estate implied by it must have lain there. And no doubt these names are but types of the rest, they have been preserved because they belong to estates in possession of the Church, while the names of the estates in lay hands have not been so preserved. But there can be very little doubt that the village names of the district were very much the same under King Offa as they are under Queen Victoria.

And not only were the names the same, but I believe the things implied by the names were the same likewise. In many cases this is demonstrably so. It is not by chance that the district round Bath, described as the land of 90 "manentes" in 781, and rated at 85 hides in 1086, is found to correspond precisely with the portion of Somerset north of the Avon now; nor is it a mere casual coincidence that Aust described as the land of 5 "manentes" in 794, and whose boundaries are set forth in 929, should be rated at 5 hides in 1086; or that Twining, which contained the land of 3 "manentes" in 814, should be rated at 3 hides in 1086; or that the boundaries of "Stoc" which was taken from Berkeley and restored to Worcester in 883 should be found to correspond with the boundaries of Stoke Bishop and Shirehampton in Westbury-on-Trym. These things are not mere coincidences,

they shew plainly that the area surrendered by Bishop Heathored 1111 years ago was precisely the area known as the Hundred of Bath both to the Domesday Commissioners, and to us of to-day; that the Aust and Twining with which Offa and Kenulf dealt were what we know by those names, though some eleven centuries have rolled away since then; that the "Stoc" with which Earldorman Ethelred and the Lady of the Mercians dealt more than a thousand years ago in the time of King Alfred, was just what we know as Stoke Bishop and Shirehampton now.

And the similarity holds not simply with regard to the areas as a whole, but also with regard to their constituent parts. It is impossible to avoid the conviction that in the cases at any rate of Bath, Offa's grants at Westbury Henbury and Aust, and Twining (and instances might easily be multiplied), the area implied by the land of one "cassate," or of one "manens," was set down in Domesday as one hide. And this is a most important conclusion; the proof and consequences of which shall be, if possible, developed on some future occasion.

But it is a most striking proof of the continuity of English History that more than one thousand years ago, not only were the place-names of the shire the same with those which are familiar to us; but also that the areas and boundaries were the same which we find to-day. The outward framework of the life of the district was already that in which we are working now.

Notices of Recent Archæological and Historical Publications.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE CHARTERS & MUNIMENTS in the possession of the Right Honble Lord Fitzhardinge at BERKELEY CASTLE, compiled, with Introduction, Notes & Indices, by Isaac Herbert Jeayes, of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum. Bristol: C. T. Jefferies & Sons, Limited, 1892.

We had the gratification in the last volume of the Transactions of our Society to bring under the notice of the members the intention of Mr. I. H. Jeayes to print Abstracts of a thousand Ancient Charters and other Documents, selected, with the sanction of Lord Fitzhardinge, from the Muniments at Berkeley Castle. We are glad to say that the volume is now issued. Mr. Jeayes has more than fulfilled his promise. The volume before us contains abstracts of 1367 documents: viz.—

Select Charters, &c. - - -	892
Wills, &c. - - - -	62
Inquisitiones post mortem - - -	80
Select Rolls - - - -	184
Select Books - - - -	85
Select Letters, Warrants, &c. - -	64
	1367

In respect to the Charters, the names of all the witnesses, as well as of the parties, are given. The names of the former are often omitted, but Mr. Jeayes has wisely retained them, thereby adding greatly to the value of the work. Among the documents are many relating to the Heraldry and Genealogy of Gloucestershire families.

Preceding the Charters Mr. Jeayes gives, in an Introductory Chapter, a brief sketch of the history of the Berkeley family, together with tabular pedigrees extending from Ædnoth the Staller, who died in 1068, to Thomas Lord Berkeley, the fifth of his name, who died in 1532.

The volume is well printed, and is furnished with a triple Index—of Subjects, Names of Places, and Names of Persons.

The volume will be found very valuable, generally, to all topographical students, especially to those interested in the history of Gloucestershire and the West of England, to whom the work is indispensable.

BUCKFAST ABBEY. By Dom Adam Hamilton, O.S.B. *Third Edition.* London: Burns & Oates, 1892.

A very scholarly and valuable Paper on the Cistercian Houses of Devonshire was communicated some years ago to the Devonshire Association for the

Advancement of Science, Literature and Art, by Mr. J. Brooking Rowe, F.S.A., then President of that Society, in which work he treats very fully of the history of the great Abbey of Buckfast from pre-Norman times. Most of the other Cistercian Houses in Devon, for satisfactory reasons which he has given, he dealt with more lightly. Much, however, has happened to Buckfast during the fifteen years which have elapsed since Mr. Rowe wrote, which is briefly related in the little monograph before us.

On the dissolution, in 1539, of the Religious Houses, the abbey was granted to Sir Thomas Dennis, but it remained not long in that name. According to the usual fate of abbey lands it passed through a succession of female coheirs into divers families. In 1806 the site of the abbey and some portion of the lands had become the property of a Mr. Berry, but in a very ruinous condition. Mr. Berry levelled the walls which were still standing and used the materials in building a modern house, in which is incorporated some portion of the remains of the ancient abbey. From Mr. Berry it passed to a Mr. Searle Benthall, who sold it to Dr. Gale, of Plymouth, of whom it was purchased in 1882 by a community of Primitive Observance which had been expelled from France in 1880. This community was not Cistercian though members of the same great Benedictine family of which the Cistercians were members.

After the ruins of the abbey came into the possession of the Brotherhood excavations were soon commenced, and the ground plan disclosed, of which a plan is given. It is of the usual type of Cistercian Houses, and the foundations were found to be complete. The first object of the monks was to erect a temporary church until such time as the former one could be rebuilt on its ancient site. This was opened on Lady Day, 1884, by Dr. J. L. Patterson, Bishop of Emmaus, and the restoration of the abbey was proceeded with on the South side, which was so far advanced as to admit of Pontifical High Mass being celebrated on 29th April, 1886.

We have to thank Dom Adam Hamilton for his interesting little brochure.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COTTESWOLD NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB, Vol. X. Gloucester: Printed by John Bellows, 1892.

THE Cotteswold Field Club which for many years has done most valuable work in the County of Gloucester and its neighbourhood, has recently issued the third and final Part of the tenth volume of its Proceedings. Mr. W. C. Lucy, F.G.S. (the President of the Society) gives, as is usual, a most interesting record of the Field Work done by the Society during the last two years; and the special Papers contributed by the members are all very valuable, though this Part does not contain so much geological matter as usual. Perhaps it is not the less interesting on that account.

The first Paper introduced is one by the late Mr. John Jones, formerly of Gloucester, and for many years an active and valuable member of the Club. He read this Paper before the Club at a Meeting at Tewkesbury as long ago as May, 1854. It is

On Certain Superstitions Prevalent in the Vale of Gloucester.—At that time the study of Folk-Lore had not been taken up as a science, and the Editor of these Proceedings has done well to preserve Mr. Jones' Paper. Many

old Legends, Customs and Superstitions, and much Local Speech has, doubtless, through the agency of the Schoolmaster and the Policeman, been lost since Mr. Jones' little Paper was written which would now have been very useful to the members of the Folk-Lore Society, nevertheless, we doubt not that much remains to be gleaned, not only in the Vale of Gloucester but also on the Cotteswold Hills and in the Forest District.

Bird Song and its Scientific Value.—THIS Paper shews in its preparation much thought and patient observation. Mr. Witchell, the author, justly says: "The habits of animals are equally with their construction worthy of investigation, for movement, especially aberrant movement, is the forerunner of new habits, and may therefore be termed the parent of physical development. Habit," he says, "is valuable as indicating the extent to which the multiplication of certain species may effect human interests; and in this it excels physical structure. It is better for us to learn what are the seeds devoured by finches rather than the number of feathers of which their tails are composed." And he complains that this side of the subject has not been treated of in the works of Ornithologists. But he does not notice in the List of Ornithological works which he has consulted, the Parliamentary Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Wild Birds Protection Bill of 1873, perhaps the most valuable and useful work on the habits of wild birds and their food which we possess. He mentions that during comparatively recent years a change of habitat, partial or general, has occurred in certain animals, *e.g.*, the beaver in North America has become solitary; the house-sparrow has become parasitical on the abode of man and in that of the martin; the house-mouse is generally dependent upon man for food; and the meadow-vole and long-tailed field-mouse have adopted walls for residences.

But Mr. Witchell says, "there is another feature in the change of habit which is much more important than its effect upon the distribution of the species, and this is its suggestion of a mental process akin to, or identical with, what we call reason." He adds: "It can only be by observing and recording the habits of animals that we shall acquire accurate knowledge of animal psychology; and let us hope that before the approaching extinction of some of our rarer animals has been accomplished, observers will have recorded, not only the bare incidents of their local distribution and nidification, but also something of their domestic life and manners."

All this is very interesting, but it is only preliminary to the subject of his Paper, and we heartily sympathise with him in his desire that the habits and instincts of wild animals and birds should be more closely and carefully studied, and we agree with his suggestion that the members of the club should give some special attention to this interesting subject.

A scientific study of the Songs of Birds is doubtless very interesting, and it is a study to which naturalists have not given the attention it deserves. We gather from Mr. Witchell that the whole of what has been written upon it is, in his opinion, "absolutely worthless." This is not very encouraging, and we would fain hope that his judgment is somewhat too severe.

One remarkable feature in Mr. Witchell's observations is the imitative power possessed by birds, and the extent and accuracy with which they

imitate each other, and, perhaps, few persons are capable of distinguishing the one from the other, though we all know that many persons can whistle a bird's song with great success.

Mr. Witchell cites Mr. O.V. Aplin, the author of "The Birds of Oxon"; as saying: In May, 1889, I listened to the most accomplished sedgewarbler I ever came across. It began several times with the tut-tut-tut of the blackbird, and produced the following:—green woodpecker, call, starling—blackbird, alarm and call-notes—corn bunting (*E. Miliaria*) song, exact (N.B.—This bird is fairly common there)—lark, song,—chaffinch, song and 'pink'—greenfinch, double and single,—sparrow, call—swallow, song,—redstart, alarm-note,—partridge, call,—nightingale, full bubbling notes."

Some Laws of Inheritance and their Application to Man.—MR. BUCKLAND, in a very brief preface to his Paper, gives a short history of its production. He says that a considerable portion of the first part of it was written early in the year 1891, and that the Paper, itself, was read before the Cotteswold Field Club in February, 1892. In the subsequent discussion objection was taken by Professor Harker that the writer had not considered the views of Weismann; and he had consequently added at the end a short argument concerning Weismann's theories. Some other additions, he says, he had made, the result of fresh observations, or to make the argument clearer, which had been incorporated in the Paper since it had been read before the Field Club. All such additions, he says, have been enclosed within square brackets; and the brackets will shew that in works studied since the Paper was read he had found confirmation of several of his surmises.

It would appear from this statement that great care has been taken in the preparation of Mr. Buckland's Paper. His arguments are very full, but it would be impossible to follow them out in a necessarily brief notice in a Magazine. After much research and weighing of evidence he has come to the conclusion that *Man* is descended from a quadramanous, arboreal, tailed, ancestor—in other words a monkey—of the group called the *Platyrhine*. We have never given any study to the growing science, if science it be, of the "Evolution of Man." Our feelings revolt against it; nevertheless, the comparisons and evidence produced are very remarkable.

Egypt, Syria and Palestine.—The last article in this volume, contributed by Mr. J. H. TAUNTON, M. Inst. C.E., F.G.S., is one of great interest. He gives some account of his journeying in Eyypt, but more especially, afterwards, in Syria and Palestine. The details which he furnishes of the geology, and physical geography, levels, and general character of this remarkable region are of high interest, but it is impossible we can follow him through the details. He shews the impracticability of the once talked of Jordan Valley Canal Scheme.

It is curious to note the small extent of the Jewish kingdom. The area of Palestine proper (exclusive of the possessions in Moab, Syria and Arabia, held in the days of Kings David and Solomon) was no greater than that of England and Wales, or about 6000 square miles, extending from the Jordan to the sea coasts westwards. The distance from Dan to Beersheba is but about 120 miles.

THE WESTERN ANTIQUARY.—Note Book for Devon and Cornwall, Vol. XI. Edited by W. H. K. Knight, F. R. Historical Society, Borough Librarian, Plymouth.

This volume sustains the reputation of its predecessors. Mr. Arthur J. Jewers, F.S.A., communicates *A Memoir on the Parish of Ermington*, which is continued throughout the volume. He briefly relates the devolution of the manor, and gives the heraldry of the church, in which it is rather rich, and also numerous extracts from the Parish Registers (which, however, are very late) in connection with Ermington families. Mr. William Crossing F.L.S., continues from the last volume his interesting Paper on *Crocken Tor and the Ancient Stannary Parliament*, which is concluded in this portion of his Paper. The Rev. S. Baring-Gould and Mr. R. Twigge continue their's on *a Armoury of the Western Counties*. The Rev. J. Binney continues from Vol. X. his *Extracts from the Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of Morebath, co. Devon*. These accounts are of great interest and value in illustration of the agricultural economy of that period. They extend from from 1520 to 1620, and appear to have been transcribed literally. The extracts in the present volume reach down to the year 1531. Mr. Binney remarks: "It is astonishing to learn the amount of the offerings to the church during this period, in so small a moreland parish. It witnesses clearly to the great devotion of the people, and their general good feeling for the vicar, though, by the account, they did not care for the clerk." An interesting Paper is given by Mr. F. Cecil Lane on *The Old Cornish Fencibles*. And the Rev. Preb. Hingeston-Randolph concludes his selection of *Muniments foom the Parish Church of Kingsbridge*, numbering 101 in all. Mr. W. H. H. Rogers, F.S.A., gives an interesting *Memoir of Sir Isaac Heard, Garter Principal King of Arms*. Mr. Alfred Wallis contributes a chapter on *West Country Apparitions*, and Mr. Edward Windeatt resumes his *Notices of Totnes: its Mayors and Mayoralties*, which contain much of interest and value. An excellent and instructive Paper is contributed under the *nom de plume* 'Rouge Rose' on *The Prebendal Church of St. Mary, within the Castle, and the Prebends of Exeter Cathedral*, which cannot fail to be read with great interest. A verbatim report is given, from a local newspaper of the time, of a teriffic storm which occurred on 24th November, 1824. It is said to have been as "disastrous in its effects, and severe in its force, as the great blizzard of 1891." As a historical event it is well that its memory should be preserved in the *Western Antiquary*. Mr. P. O. Hutchinson contributes a very interesting Paper on *The Old House of Whipton* at Heavitree, near Exeter, which at the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th was the residence of one John Banckes, Esq., as shewn by the abstract of certain deeds, &c., communicated to N. and G., XI., 151, by Mr. J. S. Attwood. Mr. Hutchinson's Paper may be regarded as a supplement to that of Mr. Attwood. The former gentleman visited the curious old mansion and describes the three rooms on the first floor, as formerly a single room of considerable length, with a coved, or wagon-roof, divided into square compartments, each compartment containing a shield of arms. Mr. Hutchinson, unfortunately, does not give the blazon of these arms. It is very desirable that this should be ascertained and recorded in N. and G. or the W. A. These arms would probably throw some light, perhaps much, upon the history of the mansion.

NOTES AND GLEANINGS.—A Monthly Magazine devoted chiefly to subjects connected with the Counties of Devon and Cornwall. Vol. IV. Edited by W. COTTON, F.S.A., and JAMES DALLAS, F.L.S.

THIS is a very interesting volume. Mr. Alfred F. Robins communicates a series of Papers on the *Closing Days of Launceston Priory*. And there is another series of Papers, from the pen of that zealous, laborious and eminent Antiquary, the late Dr. George Oliver, the mention of whose name will be sufficient to secure much interest. The first of these articles is on the *Heraldry of the Holne Pulpit*, and is signed with his *nom de plume*, 'Curiosus'. The second contains a *List of the Rectors of Widworthy, Devon*, by Mr. Winslow-Jones. Mr. J. A. Sparvel-Bayley contributes *Notes on some Ruined Abbeys in Devonshire*; and Mr. Winslow-Jones gives a *List of the Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs and acting Under-Sheriffs of Devon during the present century*. And the same gentleman contributes a *Memoir of John Bury*, Canon Residentiary of Exeter Cathedral, and his sons-in-law and descendants. Mr. Winslow-Jones furnishes also a very interesting Charter whereby John Crok conveys all his right in Blythemesham, now Blimson, in Beaford parish, to Maurice de Berkeley and Joan his wife. Mr. Jones, in reliance in Burke's Extinct Peerage, states that this Maurice de Berkeley, Knight, was the eldest son of Thomas, third Baron Berkeley, on whose death, in 1361, he became the fourth Baron. This is an error, Maurice de Berkeley, the grantee named in the charter, was the fourth son of Maurice the ninth Baron in succession and the fourth of his name. He married Joan daughter and heir of William Hereward, by which marriage he acquired, *inter alia*, the manors of More, Dodescote, and Blithemisham, in Devon, and Pencarrow, in Cornwall. He died about 1358 leaving a son of his own name, a minor. A further communication is made by Mr. Jones on *A Monument in Newton St. Cyres Church*, of John Northcote, of Hayne. As does "R" on Mrs. Anne Carew, wife of George Carew, D.D., Dean of Bristol and afterwards of Exeter. Her monument is at Romford, in Essex. She was the daughter of Sir Nicholas Harvey, of Ickworth. *A List of Rectors of Littleham*, compiled by the Rev. Preben. Hingeston-Randolph, with short biographical notes appended to each of the post-Reformation Rectors is given. Following this is an interesting article on *Canonteigh and the great Civil War*," signed R.W.C., initials not difficult to assign. Mr. Alfred Wallis supplies *A few Notes on Rougemont Castle*," in illustration of a Paper by Mr. Winslow Jones on the Castle of Exeter in Vol. I., p. 119, of this work. *An Inventory of Church Goods at Allhallows*, Goldsmith Street, Exeter, in the 6th year of Edward VI., at the spoliation of the churches. The interrogatories are given. We find there is a similar *Inventory of the Parish of St. Sidwell's*, and the Editors announce their intention of continuing the series. That of the *Parish of St. Gwinear* appears later in the volume. A long and interesting *Memoir of Captain Francis Champernowne*, who emigrated to New England in the reign of Charles I., which it must suffice to mention. Mr. James Dallas prints evidences in support of the *Early Northcote Pedigree*, with tabular pedigrees, and the same author writes on *The Heraldry in Devonshire Churches*. *Kelly*, an article on this parish, with many others, which were left in MS. by the late Dr. Oliver, the Rev. Preb. Hingeston-Randolph, for which the Editors of *Notes and Gleanings* express their obligations. Dr. Oliver's remains are very valuable, and doubtless

their value will be greatly increased by passing through the hands of that learned and accomplished antiquary.

In addition to these there are many other very interesting communications, and the *Extracts from the City Muniments* are continued throughout.

NOTES & QUERIES: SOMERSET & DORSET. Edited by Frederick Willan Weaver, M.A., and Charles Herbert Mayo, M.A., from Vol. II., Part XVI., (December, 1891, to Part XIX., Vol. III., 1892).

We have noticed the preceding Parts of this interesting work in the earlier volumes of our Transactions down to Part XV. of Vol. III., and we now offer some remarks on the succeeding numbers.

The first thing which attracts our attention is the very remarkable object known as the Dorset Ooser, an illustration of which is given as a frontispiece to Part XVI. It is of great antiquity and is probably unique. It belongs to Mr. Thomas Cave, of Holt Farm, Melbury Osmond, Dorset, in whose family it has been time out of mind. It has been defined by the late Rev. W. Barnes in his *Glossary of Dorset Dialect*, 1886, p. 85, as "Ooser, oose, or wu'se. A Mask, as with grim jaws, put on with a cow's skin to frighten folk. 'Wurse,' in Layamon's Brut, is the name of the arch-fiend."

The Rev. C. H. Mayo, the Dorset Secretary, thus describes it: "The object itself is a wooden mask, of large size, with features grotesquely human, long flowing locks of hair on either side of the head, a beard, a pair of bullock's horns projecting right and left of the forehead. The mask, or ooser, is cut from a solid block, excepting the lower jaw, which is moveable, and connected with the upper by a pair of leathern hinges. A string attached to this moveable jaw passes through a hole in the upper jaw and is then allowed to fall within the cavity. The Ooser is so ormed that a man s head may be placed within it, and thus carry, or support, it, while he is in motion. No provision, however, is made for his seeing through the eyes of the mask, which are not pierced. By pulling the string, the lower jaw is drawn up and closed against the upper, and when the string is slackened is descends."

No recollection or tradition exists of its ever having been in any manner used. It is stated that Mr. Cave is willing to dispose of it (we presume by sale), but we think it would be much to be regretted, if Mr. Cave is willing to preserve it, if this curious object were removed from its present habitat.

We are glad to see that the printing of the Dorset Administrations is commenced in Vol. II., and is being continued through Vol. III., and that it is to be still carried on.

It is gratifying also to find that an early Register of the Parish of Mere, co. Somerset, long lost, has been recovered and restored to the parish. It is a mixed Register, and contains the entries of baptisms, marriages and burials from 1574 to 1676-7. The earliest Register of this parish included in the Parliamentary Return of 1831, commences only in 1745. Judging from the condition of the recovered fragment, as so clearly described by Mr. Mayo, it is not unlikely that there are portions lost both at the beginning and at the end, though we are inclined to think there is not much wanting at the beginning. Perhaps the original Register commenced about the accession of

Queen Elizabeth, when many Registers begin, but, possibly, at the end the record is missing for the whole 67 years. It should be borne in mind that no person, in any circumstances, can acquire a proprietary right in Registers, or other books, belonging to a Parish, however long the possession may have been. This, very recently, was affirmed in a court of law, and it cannot be made too widely known. The principal entries in the recovered Register are printed in *Notes and Queries* for Somerset and Dorset.

The Rev. C. H. Mayo supplies some interesting notes from the Churchwarden's Accounts of Langton Long Blandford, though late 17th century, to be continued. Mr. Hugh Norris, of South Petherton, continues from Vol. II. his Notes on the *Family of Asshe*, their monuments in South Petherton Church, arms, &c. The Rev. J. Coleman, Vicar of Cheddar, makes known that he is in search of one of the Registers of that Parish, which, not very long ago, was acknowledged to be in the possession of Mr. Nichols, attorney, at Axbridge, and is now said to be *missing*. X.Y.Z. inserts a query respecting the cross known as Stalbridge Cross, of which X.Y.Z. gives an interesting description. He particularly desires assistance in reading this inscription :

MCCCIX.

GAL : D. MER : SAN : IOH : VUL : MED : COL : RHOD :

PERIT : NUNQ : MAN : LITT.

P : L : M :

In Part XVIII. is a most interesting description by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, of a Sculpture, with illustration, at Durweston Church, near Blandford, of St. Eligius, and in Part XIX. is an illustration of another sculpture of this Saint at Wincanton ; and a short description by the Curator at Glastonbury of a British Village recently found near that place. Mr. Edmund Buckle communicates a Paper on the *Dedications of Somerset Churches*. The Rev. Charles J. Robinson supplies some *Notes on Gillingham, Dorset*, with a pedigree of the Perne family. And throughout the volume there are many other minor Papers of equal interest.

THE SCOTTISH ANTIQUARY, or Northern Notes & Queries (*illustrated*). Published quarterly. Edited by the Rev. A. W. Cornelius Hallen, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.) Conc. Scot. His. Soc. F. Hugt. S. No. 23 to 26. Dec. 1891, to Sep. 1892.

In our last volume we noticed this work to Part 22 inclusive, and we now resume our remarks with Part 23. This number opens with what is called a "Diary of the Rev. John Hunter, Episcopal Minister at Shetland, 1734-1745." It is not, however, exactly a Diary, but rather a sort of Memorandum, or Note Book, and contains entries made at various times and not in sequence, though they have been arranged consecutively for printing. Many of the memoranda concern his clerical duties, but they are entered promiscuously with his private accounts and other secular matters. Nevertheless they throw considerable light on the condition of the Scottish Church during this period of its recent bare toleration.

Mr. W. Traile Dennison gives us a very interesting and pleasing legend from Orkney Folk-Lore, of the marriage of a young man and a mermaid, and

its results; and later on in this volume is a similar legend somewhat different and more picturesque and romantic. And an account is given of the practice of Betrothal and Marriage in Scotland before the Reformation, circa 1475-1478; and a very interesting Paper is supplied by the Editor on the relations which existed between the people of the North of Ireland and those of the West of Scotland, and the influence it had upon England. In article 404 an example of the use of arabic numerals on a tombstone in Ulm Cathedral as early as 1388 (query) is recorded. In article 408 we have also an interesting letter of David Hume, the historian. Number 24, Vol. V. opens with a communication on Medical *Folk-lore* in the Highlands of Scotland. It contains a portion of the Parochial Registers of Stirling containing entries from 1585 to 1591, and later on in this vol. to 1594, from which date it is stated it will be continued.

THE JOURNAL OF THE EX LIBRIS SOCIETY. Edited by W. H. K. Wright, F.R. Hist. Soc., *Hon. Sec. and Editor*, Ex. Libris Society, assisted by Arthur J. Jewers, F.S.A. London: A. & C. Black, Soho Square. Plymouth: W. F. Westcott, 1892.

The Ex Libris Society originated with Mr. W. H. K. Wright, F.R.H.S., the able and energetic Librarian of the Plymouth Public Library, who instituted, about a dozen years ago, "The Western Antiquary." Being fond of Heraldry, and especially of the study of Ex Libris or Book-Plates, he, in 1889, added a Supplement to that publication devoted to the subject of his special study. This was called "The Book-Plate Collector's Miscellany," and so popular was it as supplying a long-felt want as a medium of communication between collectors, that in a very short time a special Society was formed, under the title of the "Ex Libris Society," having a Journal of its own to promote its objects. The Society was definitely formed in February, 1891, and the first Part of its Journal was issued in the following July. This is a beautiful production as well in its topography as in its paper and illustrations.

Book-Plates are of considerable antiquity, perhaps as early as books were made in their present form. They are intended as marks of ownership without disfiguring the work to which they are attached, and some of them are of the highest class of art, having been designed by the most accomplished artists of the period in which they were drawn. Some of them are very curious, beautiful, and instructive, illustrative of history, genealogy, and art in blazon, shewing, however, degeneration in treatment as time advanced. The Plates differed very widely in form and character according to the taste or skill of the possessor. These details are fully treated of in the Journal, and it is not necessaay to repeat them here. Personally we prefer the Armorial Book-Plate to any other, as being the most distinctive.

Apart, however, from the illustrations there is much of great interest and value historical, biographical and genealogical in the letter-press, and much not lacking in humour.

The Editor draws attention to anything which may appear remarkable in the drawings of the arms. For example, he publishes three separate Book-plates of Dr. Richard Glynn, afterwards Clobery, all differing, more or less, from each other. They exhibit the three well-known styles of *Ex Libris*,

termed the Queen Anne, Chippendale, and Wreath and Ribbon. The first two plates are charged with : *Gu. three salmon spears ar.* We hope to be pardoned if we venture to criticise these plates beyond what the Editor has thought proper to do. The arms in the Ribbon and Wreath plate are intended for those of Clobery of Clobery and of Bradstone, *Devon*, which are : *Argent a chev between three bats displayed sa.* The first question is—are these charges Bats? We know they should be, but the 18th century artist appears to have drawn them with feathered wings and tails. Bats should have wings similar to those of dragons, but the little creatures are tailless and have not a feather upon their bodies. The wings blazoned *displayed* should have been represented membranous, and should be much wider extended.

The Editor, referring to the plate last mentioned, noticed the inferiority of its character, and observes that Dr Glynn, "seems, for some reason, to have dropped his paternal arms of Glynn altogether, and to have used only those of the family of Clobery : *ar. a chevron between three bats displayed sa.*

This can be easily explained. Robert Glynn, of Broades, in Helland, the Doctor's father, was the grandson of Walter, the second son of Nicholas Glynn, of Glynn, Sheriff of Cornwall, 1620, ob. 1625. Robert Glynn, the father, above mentioned, married Lucy, daughter and coheir of John Clobery, of Clobery and Bradstone, Devon. In compliance with the testamentary injunction of his maternal uncle, Mr. Clobery, of Bradston, who died s.p., having bequeathed to Dr. Glynn his lands in Clobery and Lymsbury, on the condition that he assumed the name of Clobery after that of Glynn, and doubtless the arms of Clobery also, but we cannot find any Royal License or Act of Parliament authorising the change. His will was dated 7th April, 1790, and proved 5th March, 1608.

The arms of Glynn, of Glynn, as allowed at the Heralds' College, and as used by the family are : *ar. three salmon spears sa.* but those displayed on the first two book-plates are changed in the tinctures as blazoned above. This may have been done by Dr. Glynn, or by one of his immediate ancestors as a *difference*, but the further changes appearing in the Chippendale plate : viz., the assumption of a new motto and the alteration in the form of the salmon spears doubtless took place after the death of Mr. Clobery but before Dr. Glynn's final assumption of the arms of Clobery. This book-plate was probably much later than that in the Queen Anne style. The assumption of the Clobery arms alone was probably that referred to by the Editor as being the subject of Dr. Glynn's letter as printed in the Journal, and dated at Cambridge, 6th May, 1790.

FUST ARMS.

There is another Paper of local interest in this district arising out of the grand Book-plates of Sir Francis Fust whose ancestor, Edward Fust, for his fidelity to the Royal cause during the great rebellion was created by Chas. II. in 1662, Sir Edward Fust of Hill, or Hull, in the County of Gloucester, which manor he had bought of Sir John Poyntz in the reign of James I. It is stated that this family of Fust is of great antiquity, being descended from John Fust of Mentz, the famous printer. This statement has been challenged, and however this may have been Sir Edward Fust was created a Baronet as stated above, and he and his descendants matched with the best blood in Gloucestershire and neighbouring counties. For genealogy it will suffice to

refer to the Extinct Baronetage of Courthorpe, Burke, &c. We shall only refer to the descent so far as to explain, as well as we can, the arms as marshalled on the Book-plates.

Five Fust *Ex Libris* have been brought to light, all pertaining to Sir Francis Fust, the last Baronet but one, who married in 1724 Fanny, daughter of Nicholas Tooker, of Bristol, merchant, and died in 1769. The first is a large plate (figured in the Journal, Vol. II., p. 66). It can hardly be called a quarterly coat in the strict sense of the term. The shield contains forty coats of arms, and is divided palewise, the dexter side containing the arms pertaining to the marriages in the male line, and the sinister those in the female line, whether heiresses or not. This is a method of marshalling which we do not remember to have before seen. There is, we are told, a similar plate, but it is only a variant of this.

The third plate which is figured on the following page of the Journal is dexter: quarterly of six :—1. FUST ; 2. SINGLETON ; 3. HIDE ; 4. DENTON ; 5. COCKS ; 6. quarterly :—1. MOHUN ; 2. HIDE ; 3. CHURCHILL ; 4 as 1 ; for Mohun ; impaling Tooker. The fourth Book-plate has subsequently been communicated to the Society by Mr. J. Carlton Stiff. It is a single coat of Fust, and is beautifully engraved. The Plate, we are told, has been submitted for inspection to Lord de Tabley, Mr. W. A. Franks, and the late Rev. Daniel Parsons, who have in various places commented upon it, but we have not had the advantage of seeing their remarks.

Heraldry has by some persons been considered dull, but the Papers by Mr. Walter Hamilton on *Humour in Heraldry* will scarcely be considered otherwise than amusing ; and the short Papers, generally, will be found interesting and helpful. The tabular lists throughout the volume will be found indispensible to the *Ex Libris* collector. But it is not only the lover and the collector of *Ex Libris* who will be benefitted by the Journal. It will, we believe, tend to a systematic study of Heraldry as a science, and put a check upon that charlatanism which now so unblushingly prevails.

THE ARCHIVIST.—A Quarterly Journal. Devoted to the Study of Historical Documents, Manuscripts and Autographs. Edited by S. DAVEY, F.R.L.S. London : The Archivist Office, 47, Great Russell Street.

WE have received Vol. V. of this little Journal, with which we are very much pleased. Each number commences with two or three pages of "Editorial Notes." In these notes, in the volume before us, the editor, in a pleasant manner, treats of various literary matters and literary gossip.

Under the head of the *Literature of Letter Writing*, the Editor inserts in this volume brief Essays on Gray, Cowper and Burns. These essays are very pleasingly and well written. This is followed by *Scraps from a Collector's Autobiography* in which a very interesting Extract of William Upcott's career is given, and his success in securing some very valuable documents, especially the manuscript of Evelyn's Diary, which he was the means of saving from destruction as "Waste Paper," and which was afterwards published by Lord Braybrook. He was also the means of the preservation of the document found on the person of Felton when seized after his assasination of the Duke of Buckingham, a *fac-simile* of which is reproduced.

Another very curious and valuable document has been discovered and preserved by the Editor—the original MS. of Victor Hugo's Journal while an exile in Guernsey, consisting of about 2000 closely written pages and a correspondence of nearly a 1000 letters, which had been sold by a relative of Hugo after his death to a dealer in waste paper, and were by Mr. Davey recovered and preserved, the particulars of which are stated. How the collection got into the possession of the French authorities does not clearly appear. The Parts of the Journal before us are not complete, but what we have is of the highest interest. He prints, in *fac-simile*, the Original in the Record Office of the Examination of Guy Fawkes on the 9th January, 1605, with the signature of Guy himself and of the persons by and before whom the examination was conducted : viz., Sir John Popham, Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke, Attorney-General, and William Waade. And there is also a *fac-simile* of the letter addressed to Lord Monteagle warning him to keep away from the Parliament House on the occasion in question. There are many Excerpts from the Calendars of the Historical Manuscripts at Hatfield very curious and valuable. The Rev. Dr. Scott continues from Vol. IV., and through most this volume, his description and criticism of Milton's autographs, an interesting series of Papers.

Mr. Davey ought to be supported in his useful labours.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE NOTES & QUERIES. Vol. V., Parts IV. to VII. inclusive, *illustrated*. Edited by W. P. W. PHILLIMORE, M.A., B.C.L. London : Simpkin, Marshall & Co. Bristol : Wm. George's Sons, J. Fawn and Son.

THESE Parts had not been received until after our volume had been made up, and *our notice* must necessarily be more brief than we could wish.

Part IV. opens with some remarks by F.L.M.R. on the decrease of the Rural Population in the district about Dursley, which shew that, whereas the population of the same area in 1801 was 7984, instead of increasing as usual, it is now no greater than 5973, presenting a general decline in the district of just 50 per cent. This is followed by an extract from a very interesting Paper in the "Antiquary" (Vol. XXIV. p. 61) by the Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., on the Official Seal of the Hundred of Langley, co. Glouc. Dr. Cox first obligingly communicated an article on the subject to the Transactions of this Society early in 1891, printed in Vol. XV., p. 190-194, for the illustration of which we had the seal engraved. Further Notes on the Stiff and Trotman families, brought on from Part III., are continued throughout the Parts now under notice, and will probably be further continued in future. In beginning the New Series the Editor introduced the printing of a series of Gloucestershire Wills, and in Part IV. he announces his intention to give from time to time Abstracts of Deeds relating to the County. The printing of abstracts of original documents will greatly enhance the value of the publication.

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